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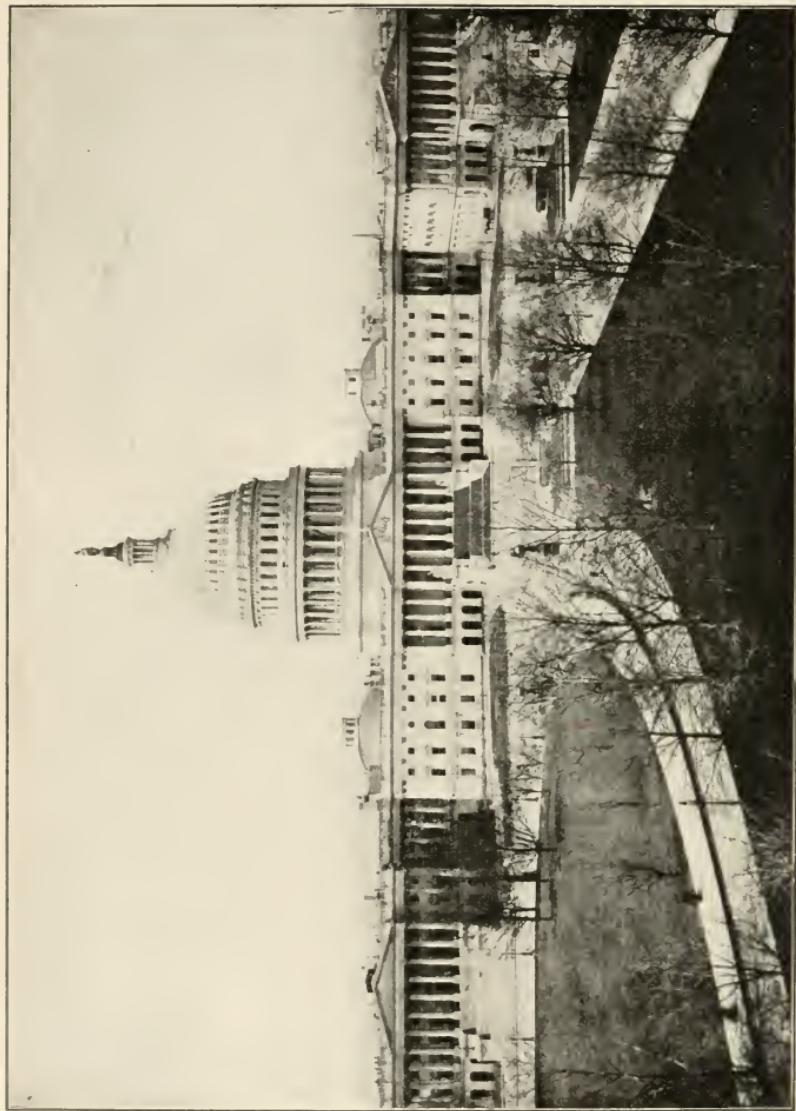
HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

VOL. V

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THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, D.C., 1905.

From a photograph.

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

HENRY WILLIAM ELSON

AUTHOR OF "SIDE LIGHTS ON AMERICAN HISTORY," ETC.

*With Two Hundred Illustrations Selected and
Edited by Charles Henry Hart*

VOLUME V

New York

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These three of Nast's cartoons, reproduced, of the Tweed ring were the most important and far reaching of all of those that Nast drew, and wielded great influence in its overthrow. See "Th. Nast his Period and his Pictures, By Albert Bigelow Paine. N.Y., 1904."

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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER XXXVII

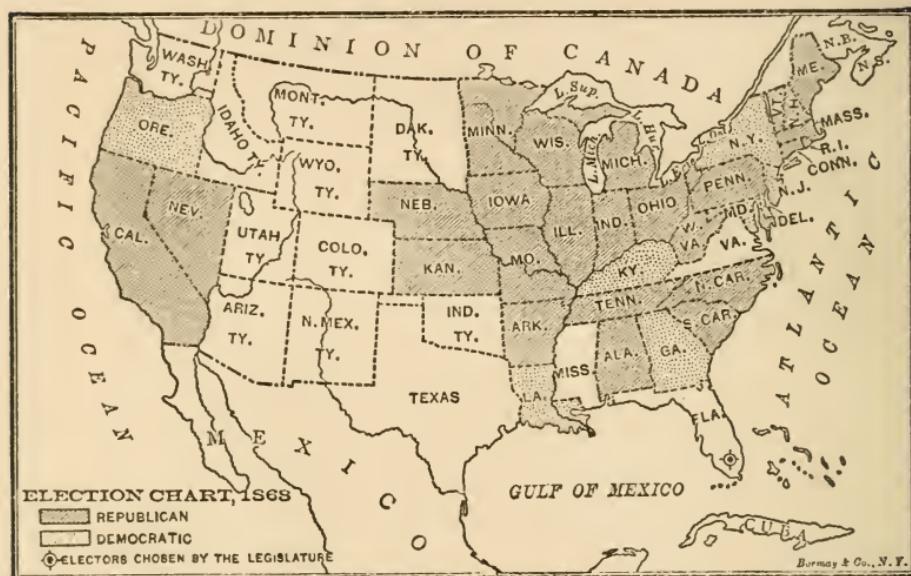
RECUPERATING YEARS

PEACE, the long-desired, can hardly be said to have fully come until reconstruction had been practically accomplished and the trial of Johnson was over. Now at last the great strife was ended, and though the bitterness engendered by it could only wear away with the passing of the generation, every one felt that, as the one and only cause of internecine war had been removed, never again would America witness the scenes of the past eight years. Before reconstruction had been fully accomplished the country turned to its quadrennial duty of electing a President.

THE ELECTION OF 1868

Four days after the deciding vote in the trial of Johnson had been cast, the national Republican convention met in Chicago. For the first place on the ticket there was no contest, as the whole party was agreed in its choice of the valiant commander who had won first honors on the battle field. Not only had General Grant distinguished himself in war, but during the Johnson administration, though his position was a trying one, he had borne himself with great discretion and dignity. So reticent had Grant been in

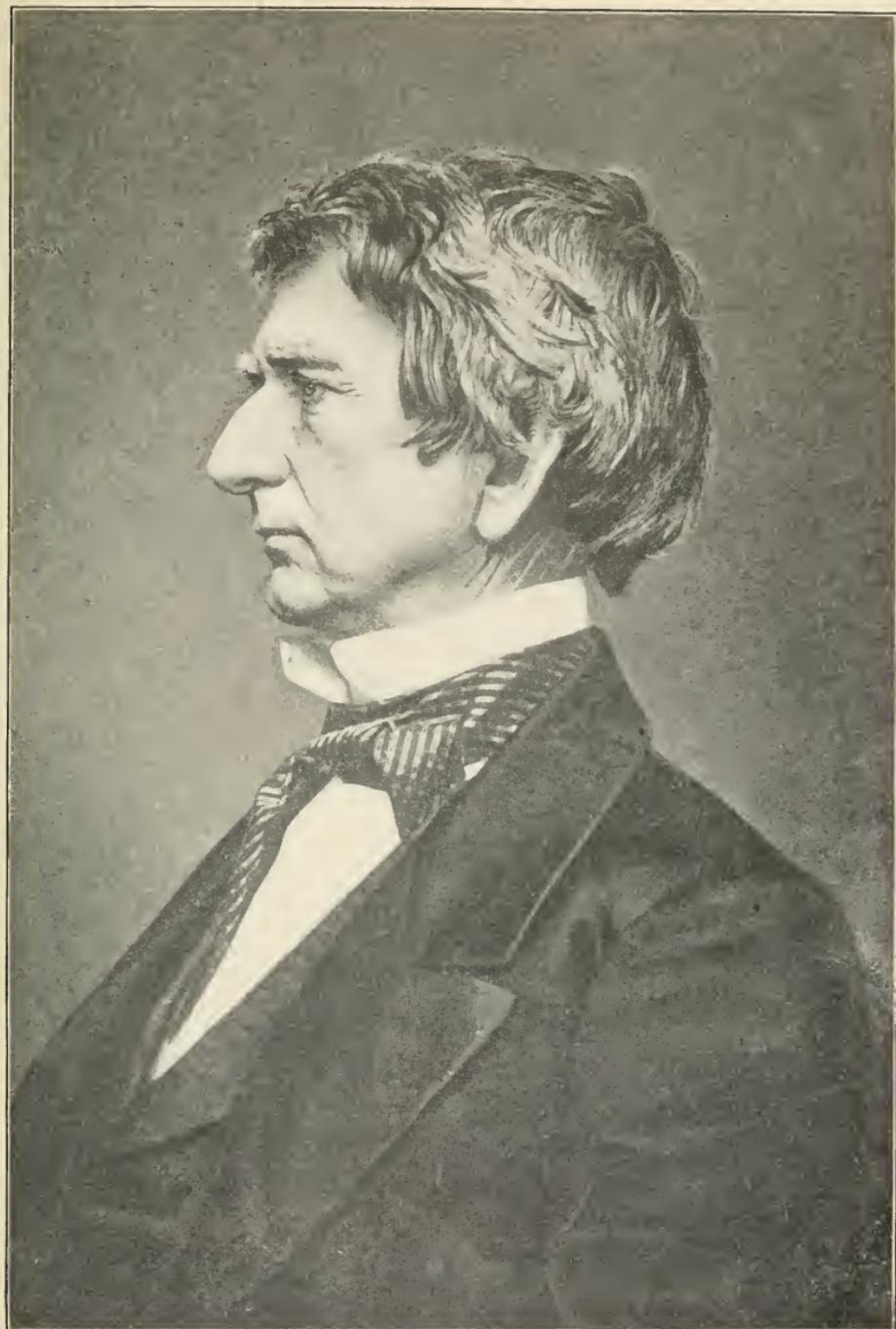
regard to politics that for some time after the close of hostilities his political bias was unknown. He had voted for James Buchanan in 1856, and the rumor gained currency that the Democrats hoped to make him their candidate in 1868.¹ But Grant indicated that his sympathies were with the Republicans. On the first ballot Grant was named by a unanimous vote. For Vice President the convention named



Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, speaker of the House of Representatives.

The platform adopted by the convention made two points conspicuous,—a pledge in substance, though not in so many words, to pay the public debt in coin, and a demand for equal

¹ Colonel A. K. McClure declares (see "Our Presidents," p. 202) that Grant before the war was a radical proslavery Democrat, not even so liberal as Douglas, and that he never voted the Republican ticket before he became President. It was Colonel Forney of the *Philadelphia Press* who persuaded Grant to permit the Republicans, rather than the Democrats, to make him their candidate.



1801—WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD—1872.

1861.

From an original Brady negative in possession of C. M. Bell, Washington, D.C.

suffrage for white and black men in the South. The first of these, concerning the finances, was highly commendable, and the pledge was carried out to the letter in the following years. But the other plank was highly discreditable to the party. It imposed negro suffrage on the South (the Fifteenth Amendment being not yet adopted) and left the matter to be decided by the various states in the North. "This was an evasion of duty quite unworthy the Republican party," says Mr. Blaine, and "carried with it an element of deception."² It was a strange proceeding to attempt to force the South to stand upon a higher plane of political virtue than the North itself was willing to adopt. The object in exempting the Northern states from this condition was to avoid giving offense to a few doubtful states, notably Indiana and California.³ The Republican keynote of the campaign, however, was not found in the platform, but in the laconic phrase, "Let us have peace," from General Grant's letter of acceptance.

The Democratic convention, which met on the 4th of July in New York City, was looked forward to with great interest because of the uncertainty as to what it would do. Two great questions must be pronounced on: Republican reconstruction, and the payment of the public debt in specie; and it decided adversely on both. The platform adopted declared that the portion of the public debt not payable by express terms in coin "ought to be paid in lawful money," that is, legal tender notes, which were far below the gold standard in value; and it pronounced the reconstruction acts "usurpations, unconstitutional, revolutionary, and void." The plank

² "Twenty Years of Congress," Vol. II, p. 388.

³ Other Republican states, Connecticut, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Ohio, and Kansas, had recently rejected negro suffrage.

on the money question appealed to many who did not hold government bonds; but that on reconstruction was not popular at the North, as the people were weary of the long-drawn-out subject and were unwilling to undo the great work now so nearly completed.

The most widely discussed candidates for the nomination were George H. Pendleton, who represented the greenback craze, and Salmon P. Chase, both of Ohio. Chase had first been elected to the Senate by the Democrats, but for many years he had acted with the Republicans. He had resigned from Lincoln's Cabinet in 1864, and was now chief justice of the Federal Supreme Court. Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana and General W. S. Hancock were also voted for; but after the convention had cast twenty-one ballots without result, there was a sudden stampede for Horatio Seymour of New York, who at that moment sat before the delegates as chairman of the convention. Repeatedly had Mr. Seymour declined to permit his name to be considered, and he now reiterated this decision from the chair. But his words were unheeded. On the twenty-second ballot the convention cast a unanimous vote for Seymour. Frank P. Blair of Missouri was then nominated for the vice presidency.

Mr. Seymour was a man of great ability and political sagacity, and was doubtless the most popular man the party could have named. During the war he had vigorously criticised the administration, but he was never violent nor disloyal. Moreover, he was a "hard money" man, and on this point opposed to his party platform. Blair had acted with Lincoln during the war, but now he was a radical Democrat on reconstruction. So extreme were his views that he became a heavy burden for the party to carry. The party was further handicapped by the prominent part taken in the

convention by former leaders of the Rebellion, notably Wade Hampton, who had written the plank on reconstruction.

General Grant was elected by 214 votes to 80 for Mr. Seymour. These figures would indicate an overwhelming victory for Grant; but an analysis of the vote was by no means reassuring to the Republicans. Of the eight seceded states which voted, six cast their ballots for Grant.* This was due chiefly to the fact that many of the whites were disfranchised, and that these states were under carpetbag governments. Seymour carried New York, New Jersey, Oregon, and Delaware, and also Maryland, Georgia, and Louisiana. Had all the Southern states voted, and had the South been solidly Democratic, as it came to be a few years later, Seymour would have been elected President over Grant. But this was not all. Seymour came within less than a thousand votes of winning in Indiana and was but 514 below Grant in California, while the Republican majorities in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other Northern states were very small. These facts were startling to the Republicans, and convinced them that henceforth, as in ante-bellum days, they would have to reckon with a powerful rival in the Democratic party. The two chief causes of this unexpected showing of the Democrats were, that thousands of their number who had acted with the "Union" party during the war had now returned to their old allegiance, and that a considerable number of Republicans, who had followed President Johnson and had opposed congressional reconstruction, now found a permanent home in the Democratic fold.

OPENING OF A NEW ERA

Many of our Presidents have been men with military

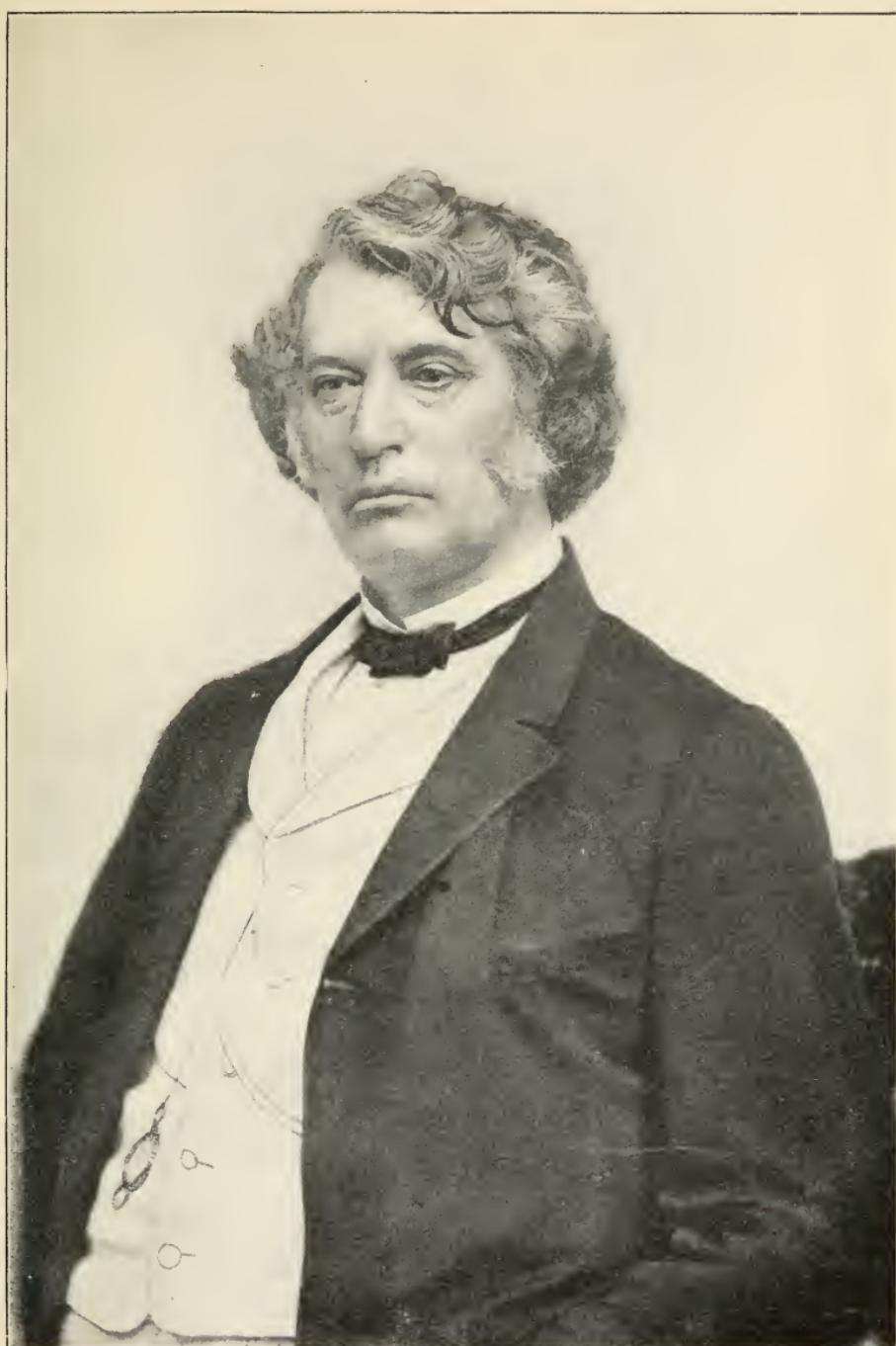
* As stated in the preceding chapter, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas did not vote in this election.

records; but only once before the election of Grant—just twenty years before—had the people chosen a chief magistrate on account of a purely military record. General Grant's inaugural address, in which he said that he accepted the responsibilities of the great office without fear, and his subsequent choosing of a cabinet, revealed his profound ignorance of the great work that lay before him. The surprise to his party was complete when he named Mr. A. T. Stewart, the well-known New York merchant, as secretary of the treasury. Mr. Stewart was ineligible, as a law passed in 1789 forbade the employment in the revenue service of any one engaged in foreign commerce. When the President ascertained this fact he chose George S. Boutwell of Massachusetts to fill the office.⁵

Other appointments were quite satisfactory: E. B. Washburne became secretary of state, Jacob D. Cox secretary of the interior, E. R. Hoar attorney-general, and J. A. J. Cresswell postmaster-general. Mr. Washburne, however, after a week's service, resigned and became minister to France, and was succeeded in the Cabinet by Hamilton Fish of New York.

The House was organized on March 4, 1869, according to the law passed two years before, and James G. Blaine was elected speaker. The Senate easily maintained its standard of ability. Among its leading members were Carl Schurz, newly elected from Missouri; Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, former Vice President; Henry Wilson, a future Vice President; George F. Edmunds of Vermont, Allen G. Thurman, the sturdy Ohio Democrat who came to be called the "Old Roman;" John Sherman, Charles Sumner, Jonathan Trum-

⁵ First, however, he requested Congress to remove the disability of Mr. Stewart, but this request was not granted.



1811 — CHARLES SUMNER — 1874.

From an original Brady negative in possession of L. C. Handy, Washington, D.C.

bull, W. P. Fessenden, and William A. Brownlow, the erratic fighting parson of Tennessee.

One of the first acts of this Congress was to modify the Tenure of Office Act to an extent amounting almost to its repeal. This was an acknowledgment that the law was a purely partisan one. Affairs at the South were still in an unsettled condition, and, as briefly stated on a preceding page, Congress passed laws known as "force bills," aimed chiefly at Ku Klux interference with elections in the South. The first of these, passed in May, 1870, provided that in cities of more than twenty thousand inhabitants the elections be controlled by Federal supervisors. The second, passed in April, 1871, was far more sweeping. It resembled the famous Sedition Law of 1798.⁶ It made the depriving of any one of the rights of citizenship, as defined in the Fourteenth Amendment, a penal offense, held the state responsible for the enforcement of that Amendment, authorized the President, for a specified time, to suspend the writ of Habeas Corpus, and to suppress any insurrection by the army and navy of the United States. But for some years longer election troubles at the South continued to disturb the whole country, and President Grant was frequently called on to quell the riots and to decide the contests. In some states "Returning Boards" had been created by law, and these boards were empowered to sit in judgment on all election returns. They were destined to attract great attention a few years later, at the disputed presidential election of 1876.

Meantime the Federal Supreme Court was again making itself felt in the land. Three decisions of great national importance were made at this period. The first of these, the

⁶ Alexander Johnson's "American Politics," p. 214.

famous Texas *vs.* White case of 1868,⁷ while upholding congressional reconstruction, pronounced that the seceding states had not been out of the Union, and that the act of secession was void. The second, in 1869, was a decision against the constitutionality of the Legal Tender Law of 1862. In this famous case, Hepburn *vs.* Griswold, Chief Justice Chase pronounced unconstitutional a portion of the law by which he had, as secretary of the treasury, issued the greenbacks eight years before. The decision pronounced against the validity of the law with reference to preexisting debts. But this decision was not permitted to stand. Two new justices having been appointed, the case was tried again the next year and the decision was reversed.⁸ Finally, the "Slaughter House" cases of 1873 concerning the chartering of a company by the government of Louisiana practically set state rights on the same footing as that commonly understood at the North before the war, and decidedly limited the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment. These decisions were very conservative in their tendencies, and they strongly emphasize what I have stated on a preceding page,—that the Civil War wrought little permanent change in the civil government of the nation, or even in the relation of the states to the Union.

The great industrial event of this period was the completion of the first railroad across the continent to the Pacific Ocean. The great West was rapidly growing. In the late fifties gold had been discovered on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, near the present city of Denver, and silver within the bounds of Nevada. But these places were far from civilization. It was determined therefore to build

⁷ See 7 Wall. 700.

⁸ See McPherson's "Hand-Book for 1871-1872," p. 53.

a railroad through this vast mountainous region at the nation's expense. The work was begun in 1862. Two companies were chartered, the Union Pacific to build westward from Omaha, and the Central Pacific to build eastward from Sacramento. On the 10th of May, 1869, the two companies met at a point in Utah; the last rail was laid with impressive ceremony, and the great work was completed.

More than \$27,000,000 had been given by the government to each of these companies, and they received, in addition, every odd section of land in a strip twenty miles wide along the entire route. This land grant came to give great dissatisfaction to a large portion of the people of the country, and was for many years a disturbing element. The building of the Pacific Railroad occasioned, a few years later, one of the greatest scandals in the history of Congress, known as the Crédit Mobilier case.

Soon after Grant became President he conceived the project of annexing the Dominican Republic, comprising the eastern portion of the island of San Domingo, to the United States. But the scheme was opposed by most of the leading statesmen of the party, and it came to naught. In the light of these later days, since we have acquired West Indian possessions, greater wisdom must be accorded General Grant's views than was accorded them at the time. The President's views remained unchanged in regard to San Domingo, and he referred to it again in his last message to Congress. One effect of the matter was a complete alienation between him and Senator Sumner, who had led the opposition to annexation. They were henceforth personal enemies.⁹

⁹ Sumner was in the end greatly humiliated by being removed, through Grant's influence, from the head of the Senate committee on

THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON

In our foreign relations the chief legacy of the war was the unsettled dispute with Great Britain concerning the depredations of the reckless *Alabama* and her reckless sisters. Mr. Charles Francis Adams, our minister at London, protested from the beginning against the building of Confederate cruisers in English waters, and in 1865 he made to Earl Russell an official statement of the number and tonnage of the United States vessels transferred to the British flag on account of the depredations of the southern cruisers. The earl answered in the following decisive language: "Her Majesty's government must decline either to make reparation and compensation for the captures made by the *Alabama*, or to refer the question to any foreign state." Secretary Seward some time later sent a list of the claims for which the British government would be held responsible. The British government still refused to be moved; but when, in 1868, Mr. Adams's successor concluded a treaty with that government which ignored the Alabama claims, providing only for a commission to settle private claims of both countries, and that treaty was rejected by the United States Senate by an almost unanimous vote, the English public began to awaken to the fact that there was something serious between the two nations. Senator Sumner had made a most radical speech, in which he put forth the most extravagant claims. He contended that England was responsible not only for the destruction of our shipping, but for our loss in the carrying trade, and even for the prolongation of the war occasioned by the early recognition of the belligerent rights of the South by the British queen. According to foreign affairs, and by the recall of his personal friend, John Lothrop Motley, from the post as minister to England.



1808 — ANDREW JOHNSON — 1875.

From an original photograph by C. C. Giers, Nashville, Tenn.

Sumner's rating, the British government should pay to the United States some hundreds of millions of dollars.

General Grant, who had now become President, gave no countenance to the preposterous claims of Sumner; but with the more moderate claim of damages for the destruction of our shipping he was in full sympathy. In his annual message of 1870 he recommended that the government assume and pay these claims of American citizens against England, and thus raise the affair to the dignity of a purely international one. The message made a profound impression in England, and moved the Ministry to speedy action. Some weeks later the English minister at Washington, Sir Edward Thornton, proposed a Joint High Commission to sit at Washington and discuss pending questions. The offer was accepted and this commission, composed of men of the highest standing in the two countries, began its sittings in March, 1871.¹⁰

For two reasons the British were now anxious for an early settlement: to preclude all danger of hostilities with the United States, and, as Lord Granville said in the House of Lords, to prepare for "possible complications in Europe" that might arise from the Franco-Prussian War. If England had become embroiled in a European war with the Alabama claims unsettled, she could hardly have expected the United States to take the trouble to prevent the building and fitting out in American waters of vessels hostile to her.

¹⁰ The United States was represented by Hamilton Fish, secretary of state; Robert C. Schenck, minister to England; Samuel Nelson, E. R. Hoar, and G. H. Williams. Great Britain was represented by Earl de Grey and Ripon, Sir Stafford Northcote, Sir Edward Thornton, Sir John A. Macdonald, and Professor Bernard, who held the chair of international law at Oxford.

The Joint High Commission labored for two months and brought forth the Treaty of Washington, which was ratified by the Senate in May, by the British government in June, and was proclaimed in force by President Grant on the 4th of July. The treaty provided not only for the settlement of the Alabama Claims, but also for the settlement of the north-western boundary of the United States which had been but vaguely defined in the Treaty of 1847, and for the claims of Canada against the United States concerning the fisheries.¹¹ The Alabama claims were to be decided by a tribunal of five men to meet at Geneva, Switzerland, the fisheries dispute by a commission to meet at Halifax, and the boundary between the United States and British Columbia was to be referred to the Emperor of Germany.

Of the five men who were to form the Court of Arbitration at Geneva, one each was to be appointed by the President of the United States, the Queen of England, the King of Italy, the Emperor of Brazil, and the President of the Swiss Republic. President Grant appointed Charles Francis Adams, Queen Victoria appointed Sir Alexander Cockburn, lord chief justice of England, the King of Italy named Count Sclopis, whose reputation as a jurist and a man of letters extended throughout Europe, while the Emperor of Brazil appointed the Viscount d'Itajubá, and the Swiss President chose Jacques Staempfli. These men were all of great eminence. They began their sittings on December 15, 1871. The claims at first put forth by the agent of the United States were very extravagant, and included the "indirect claims" for consequential damages, such as Mr. Sumner had advanced in his Senate speech. Mr. Gladstone declared that the "indirect claims" did not come within the tribunal's juris-

¹¹ See McPherson's "Hand-Book," p. 87.

diction, and the whole British press broke out fiercely against the American proposal. While the two nations were in a furor of excitement over the matter, the Geneva tribunal ended the suspense by deciding in favor of the British view, namely, that only the claims for actual destruction of property by English-built Confederate cruisers could be considered.

The real work of the tribunal continued for many months, and was not completed until the following September. The decision was that the British government had failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligations, and that it pay the United States the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold. The only negative vote cast was that of Chief Justice Cockburn, who refused also to sign the article when it was completed. The British public was greatly displeased with the verdict; but the Ministry accepted it, and the troublesome question was settled. The Americans rejoiced, not on account of the money to be paid, but over the moral victory, as the verdict pronounced England in the wrong throughout the long controversy. This Alabama affair has been pronounced the most unfortunate blunder in the history of the British Monarchy.¹²

The decision of the German Emperor with regard to the boundary dispute in the Northwest was in favor of the United States, giving us a group of small islands that had been claimed by both countries. This left the United States, for the first time after the close of the Revolution, as stated by President Grant, without a boundary dispute with Great Britain.¹³

¹² *The Nation*, Vol. XIV, p. 84.

¹³ The fisheries question was not disposed of for some years after this. It will be noticed later.

THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT

No party was ever founded on purer motives than was the Republican party, and no President ever entered on the great office with nobler intentions than did General Grant. But no party can long have a monopoly of government without the rise of demagogues and corruptionists within its ranks. Especially is this true at a time of great social upheaval like civil war, when offices are multiplied and when the opposing rival becomes so weak that its protesting voice can be heard but faintly. The Republican party proved no exception to the rule. Its achievements during the first years of its power were great. It had left a record in American annals that cannot be effaced, but the cankerworm had begun its work. The political jobber had gained his seat in the inner councils of the nation; and now, to his great advantage, the people had chosen a President who, though a true soldier, was, like Zachary Taylor, only a soldier, a President who wanted the knowledge and capacity for administration, who was honest —too honest to suspect and watch the dishonest man.

Before the close of Grant's first term there was widespread demoralization in high government circles. Few if any suspected Grant of conniving at wrong doing, but many believed that his simplicity of nature, his want of capacity to curb the wily politician in search of plunder, was the chief obstacle to good government. The Force Bill, which practically suspended civil government in parts of the South, also helped to cause a reaction in the North; and a very respectable element in the Republican party opposed the renomination of Grant for a second term. In this class of anti-Grant Republicans we find such leaders as Seward, Greeley, and Charles A. Dana of New York; Lyman Trumbull and David Davis of Illinois; Chase and Stanley Mat-



1822—ULYSSES S. GRANT—1885.

1865.

From an original photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

thews and Thomas Ewing of Ohio; Governor Curtin and A. K. McClure of Pennsylvania; Charles Francis Adams, Senator Sumner, Charl Schurz, General Banks, Cassius M. Clay, Justice Field, and many others. These men had many followers, and were supported by such great dailies as the *New York Tribune*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Cincinnati Commercial*. The great body of the Republican party, however, determined to renominate Grant, whereupon a majority of the opposing faction broke away from the party, put its own ticket in the field, and called itself the Liberal Republican party. The national movement was preceded by a local movement in Missouri, where the liberals, led by Carl Schurz and B. Gratz Brown, joining the Democrats, won a victory over the radicals, who favored retaining the disabilities of the ex-Confederates. The Missouri liberals were soon joined by a similar faction in New York and other states, and thus the anti-Grant or Liberal Republican party came into existence.

When the Liberals saw that the nomination of Grant by the regular party was inevitable, they called a national convention, to meet at Cincinnati on the 1st day of May, 1872.¹⁴ The proposal met with a wide response, and on the appointed day the city on the Ohio witnessed a great gathering, a huge mass meeting rather than a convention. Much of the best Republican brains was represented, but the crowd was a motley one; the members had not been sent, they had come of their own accord. They represented every shade of political opinion, and were of the same mind in one thing only—opposition to Grant. Had the regular party consented to drop Grant, the Liberal movement would

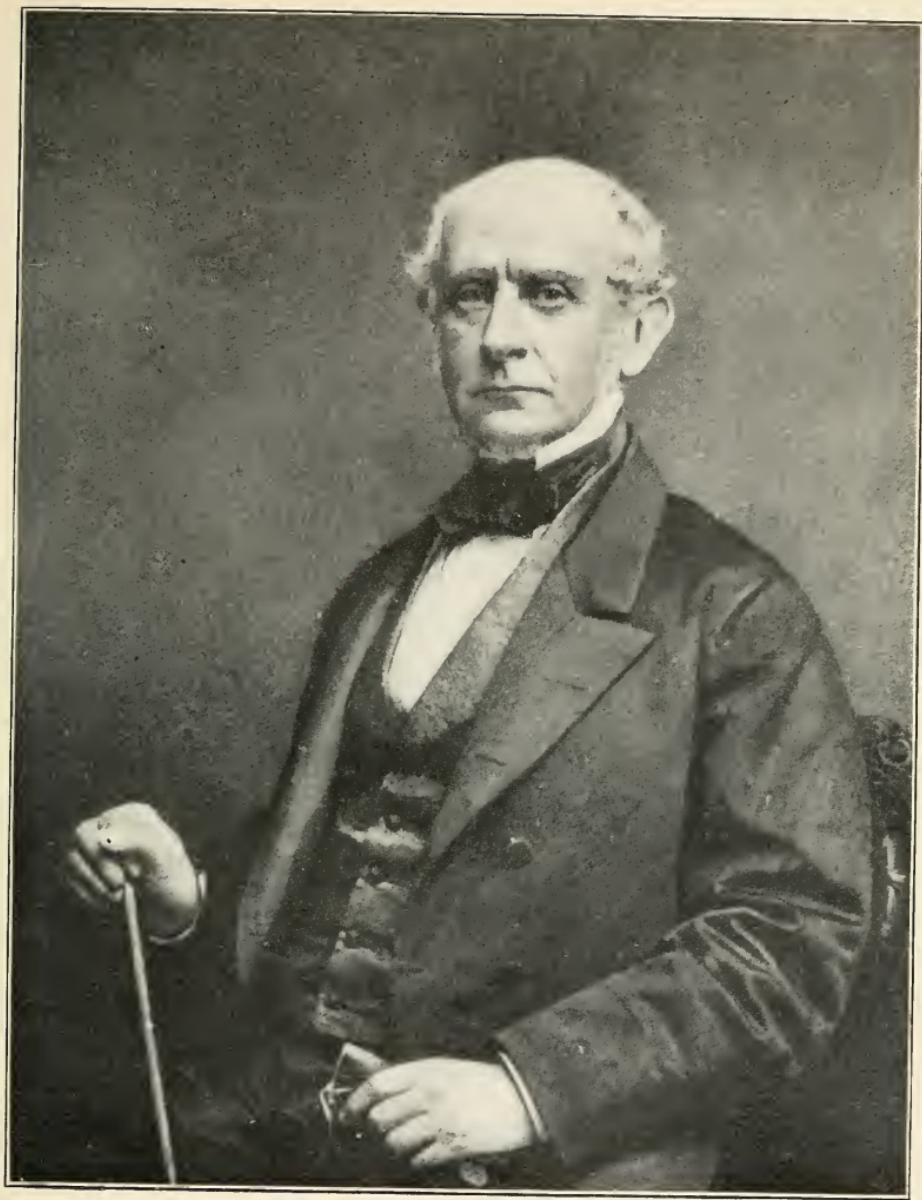
¹⁴ The call was made by the Missouri Liberals.

doubtless have dissolved;¹⁵ but as this could not be, they proceeded with their work. Their platform pronounced against civic corruption, and the continued disabilities of the ex-Confederates, and, as a direct thrust at Grant, declared that no President should be a candidate for reëlection.¹⁶ On the tariff they could not agree, and they waived the issue. The momentous question was the choice of a candidate for the presidency. On this point success or failure would probably turn. It was known that the new party could not win alone; but there was a tacit understanding that the Democrats would indorse its nominees if acceptable to them. Much, therefore, depended on the choice of the Liberal convention.

The leading name before the convention was that of Charles Francis Adams. Adams was a finished statesman. He had displayed high diplomatic skill as minister to England during the war, and, moreover, he belonged to the only family in America that had given two Presidents to the United States. But Adams, like his father and grandfather, was wanting in tact and in the winning arts of the politician; and, true to his ancestral precedents, he made a foolish blunder at the moment when this convention seemed about to name him for the highest office in the land. He telegraphed his managers to "take him out of that crowd" rather than make any pledges for his honesty. There were men in "that crowd" who resented the apparent reflection and cast their ballots in another direction. The other leading candidates were Lyman Trumbull, David Davis, and Horace Greeley. Any one of the first three would have been agreeable to the Democrats. The convention nominated the fourth.

¹⁵ *The Nation*, Vol. XV, p. 20.

¹⁶ McPherson, p. 207.



1807—CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS—1886.

From an enlargement of an original Brady negative in the possession of Frederick H. Meserve,
New York.

HORACE GREELEY

The great editor of the *New York Tribune* was the most conspicuous man in the country next to President Grant; and while Grant had but recently loomed first upon the military, then upon the political, horizon with the suddenness of a meteor, Greeley's fame had shone with a steady light for a generation. While Grant was yet a boy in knickerbockers on his father's farm in southern Ohio, Greeley was experimenting in the nation's metropolis with the first one-cent daily ever issued; while Grant was an unknown cadet at West Point, Greeley was in the forefront of the memorable political battle of 1840; and while Grant was hauling cordwood and hoeing potatoes in Missouri, already a middle-aged man, and perhaps without a dream of future greatness, Greeley was the proprietor of the leading American newspaper and the acknowledged prince of American editors.

Horace Greeley, the son of a farmer, was born in New Hampshire in 1811. As a well-grown boy we find him in the printing business in Erie, Pennsylvania. At length, determined to strike out in the great world and win for himself the best that his talents could procure, he went to the city of New York. After a long journey on foot and on canal boats he reached the metropolis with ambition in his soul and nothing in his pocket; to become, after years of toil and discouragement, the leading editor in the city and the nation.

For many years Greeley had been in the midst of every political battle in his state and in the nation. His pen was often caustic, always powerful; his courage never faltered, but he often displayed a singular lack of wisdom at a critical moment. So outspoken had he been on public questions

that he had made enemies on every side. Herein lay his weakness as a candidate. He could not hope to be elected without the aid of the Democratic party, and he had been the implacable foe of that party for a generation. Scarcely a leading man in the party had escaped the bitter castigation of his pen. Could this party now make this man their standard bearer in the great contest?

The nomination of Greeley at Cincinnati stunned the Democracy of the North.¹⁷ Any other public man would have suited them better. For a time the opposition to him was formidable; but as the weeks passed and the leaders perceived the hopelessness of their cause, except they joined with the Liberals, it was decided to swallow the medicine, however bitter. Accordingly, the Democratic convention, which met in July at Baltimore, nominated Greeley and B. Gratz Brown, the Liberal Republican candidates.¹⁸

The Republicans had met in Philadelphia, and had renominated Grant by a unanimous vote. Henry Wilson, the Massachusetts senator, was named for Vice President.¹⁹ The campaign partook of the character of that of 1840, when Greeley first rose to public notice. The Greeley orators rung many changes on Grant's civic incapacity, his nepotism in public appointments, and on the corrupt carpet-

¹⁷ Greeley was more popular at the South because of his mild attitude on reconstruction, and because he had signed the bail bond of Jefferson Davis.

¹⁸ A small faction of the party, however, calling themselves "the Straightouts," refused to support Greeley, met in convention at Louisville, and nominated Charles O'Connor and John Quincy Adams. This party made little showing in the election.

¹⁹ Wilson's origin was as obscure as that of Lincoln or of Andrew Johnson. He was the son of an Irish farm laborer named Colbath, and his own name was Jeremiah Jones Colbath. Not liking his name, he had it changed by the state legislature to Henry Wilson.

bad governments of the South. The Grant supporters declared that if Greeley were elected, it would be a Democratic victory, as the great majority of his supporters came from that party; that it would be turning the government over to the unregenerate Democracy. It was dangerous, they argued, to intrust the hard-won fruits of the war to the party that but eight years before had pronounced the war a failure, the party that was unfriendly to the freedman and to the last three amendments, the party that included all the old slaveholders and ex-rebels. But Greeley was hopeful until the early state elections pointed unerringly to the reëlection of Grant. The election came, and Grant swept the country overwhelmingly, receiving the votes of every state in the North, and of all but six in the South. Since the reëlection of Monroe in 1820, but twice (in 1852 and in 1864) had there been such a sweeping victory. Greeley's elements of weakness were two: tens of thousands of old-time Democrats refused to support him and remained away from the polls; and a great many Republicans, who were at first in full sympathy with the Liberals, finding themselves in Democratic company, hastened before election day to get back into the Republican fold.

Greeley's defeat came upon him with a shock. It was not simply the defeat, for that was not unexpected, even by him, but the overwhelming vastness of it, that was crushing. Greeley had come to believe, from his great editorial success and from his influence in national councils, that he was one of the most highly honored among his countrymen; and now to have his idol shattered at one fell blow was more than his sensitive nature could endure. He could not see that thousands of his friends had voted against him because they feared that a change in the government at that time would

not be well for the country, and that they were still his friends. He did not foresee that his countrymen, for generations after he was gone, would honor his memory as one of the ablest and noblest men of his times. He saw only the result of the election, and it crushed him. Moreover, the last weeks of the campaign he spent at the bedside of his dying wife, the companion of his long struggles. Her death occurred just before the election, and the double blow proved too heavy. Greeley's reason was dethroned, and he was sent to an insane asylum. Ere the month that brought his great defeat had closed—while the shouts of victory for his successful rival were still resounding and the bonfires were still burning—Horace Greeley was dead. The whole nation mourned at the sad end of Greeley, one of the noblest of men with all his political antagonisms; and men of every political shade, including President Grant, stood sorrowing about the grave when his body was laid to rest.

EXECUTIVE DEMORALIZATION

The sweeping victory of Grant in 1872 gave the Republican party a feeling of security, a belief that it was more strongly intrenched in power than ever before. This condition was an unwholesome one, and it led the party more than ever to disregard the accusations of corruption that had been so freely made in the campaign. The prophecies of evil, freely made by the Democrats, were soon amply justified. General Grant proved utterly incapable of cleaning the Augean stables, and during his second term the demoralization in public life was more widespread than ever before in the history of the government. If Grant were not utterly without a knowledge of the responsibilities of the great office, he was hopelessly egotistical. This was shown by his



1811—HORACE GREELEY—1872.

1872.

From an original Brady negative in the War Department, Washington, D.C.

appointing his first Cabinet without consulting any of the leaders of his party. And he maintained this attitude throughout the eight years. Nor was he a good judge of character; the political adventurer could gain his ear as readily as the long-tried statesman of well-known probity, and many of his appointments were made without consultation with his Cabinet. The result was that every branch of the government became infested with men who sought only plunder.

The most notable of the resulting scandals was that known as the Crédit Mobilier case. The Crédit Mobilier was a corporation, which in 1864 became a company to construct the transcontinental railroad. During the presidential campaign of 1872 the Democratic leaders charged various Republican leaders with holding stock in the Crédit Mobilier Company. For members of Congress to be interested in a company whose profits and fortunes depended mainly on friendly acts of Congress was considered highly improper. A searching investigation revealed that the charges were founded on facts. Many reputations were blasted, and two members of the House were severely censured.

The "Whiskey Ring" was exposed by Secretary of the Treasury Bristow. In many western towns—St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, and others—the manufacturers of whiskey corrupted the government officials, and in two years defrauded the government of over \$4,000,000. More than fifty United States officials were arrested, but most of them escaped punishment.

The corrupt practices were not confined to the lower officials. In 1876, Secretary of War W. W. Belknap was accused of offering to sell the control of the post-tradership

at Fort Sill, Indian Territory. An investigation followed, and the most glaring frauds were unearthed. Belknap was shown to have received at least \$24,000 by "farming out" contracts. He was speedily impeached by the House of Representatives; but before he could be tried by the Senate, and indeed, a few hours before the impeachment vote was passed, he resigned from the Cabinet, and thus no doubt escaped conviction by the Senate.

Indian affairs were woefully mismanaged during this period. The Indian bureau had its ring of contractors who grew rich by defrauding the government and the Indians. Many of the tribes, entitled to certain supplies by treaty with the government, were systematically defrauded, and they grew discontented and hostile. The disastrous Indian troubles in the Northwest at this time were due chiefly to the gross mismanagement of the Indian bureau.

In 1873 the Modocs of Oregon became unmanageable and General Canby, a distinguished officer of the Mexican and Civil wars, was sent to pacify them. With two civilians he met the Modoc chief, Captain Jack, and his attendants, under a flag of truce, when suddenly the Indians opened fire without a word of warning. Canby and one of his companions were killed. A vigorous campaign was then opened against the tribe, and it was soon subdued and the assassins captured. They were tried in a civil court for murder, and three of them, including Captain Jack, were put to death.

The most disastrous Indian battle in the last half century occurred in June, 1876, on the Little Big Horn River in Montana. It was decided that a band of Sioux be removed, and General George A. Custer, a noted cavalry leader of the Civil War, was assigned the dangerous task. The Sioux resisted, and Custer's army, consisting of less than three

hundred men, was unexpectedly attacked by an Indian band numbering probably three thousand warriors, led by Sitting Bull. The troops fought bravely and slew many, but the odds were too great, and Custer and his whole band perished in the battle.²⁰

Not all the troublesome questions of the day resulted from executive incapacity. The political turmoils of the South, the remaining legacy of the war and reconstruction, grew out of the opposition to the Force Bill. The southern whites were determined to terrorize the black voters and to drive the northern squatters from the country. To do this bands of masked men rode through the country by night and spread terror on every hand. But there were other causes of disorder. In Arkansas two of the carpetbaggers, Brooks and Baxter, both claiming to be Republicans, fought over the governorship. The struggle covered two years; finally President Grant, through his attorney general, settled the matter in favor of Baxter.

Louisiana was the state to suffer most and longest through political disorders. Here also the fight began between Republican factions, but it soon became a war between the Republicans and the Democrats. W. P. Kellogg, the Republican governor, was accused of running the state into ruinous debt, and his election was disputed. In August, 1874, an outbreak in the Red River Parish resulted in the killing of six Republican officials. President Grant was about to send troops when the defeated candidate for lieutenant governor, Mr. D. B. Penn, in the absence of Mr. Mc-

²⁰ Only one man, a half-breed scout, escaped alive. The horse "Comanche" also escaped, and was found some miles from the battle ground with seven wounds. The secretary of war afterward detailed a soldier to attend the horse and forbade any one to ride him.

Enery, the defeated candidate for governor, denounced Kellogg as a usurper, and called on the people to arm and drive him from office. Some ten thousand men responded to Penn's call, and an armed collision took place on the streets of New Orleans in which a dozen or more men were killed on each side. Kellogg was driven from the state-house, and Penn was installed governor. But Federal troops soon arrived and drove Penn out and reinstated Kellogg. The next year the trouble was renewed over the election of the legislature, and bloodshed was narrowly averted. At length the Democrats sullenly yielded to the Kellogg government, owing to the presence of Federal troops. On the withdrawal of the troops in 1877 the state passed into the hands of the Democrats, where it has since remained.

FINANCIAL LEGISLATION

The great subject of finance, with which the country had to grapple during the war period, as we have noticed here and there in treating of that period, was still a troublesome problem in the years that followed the war. Whatever fault may be found with the government during these post-bellum years, in one thing—in managing the finances—it did nobly.

At various times during the war there were temporary spasms in the money market, but on the whole the finances were kept in a fairly steady condition, owing chiefly to the masterly ability of Secretary Chase, and to the legal tender and banking acts of Congress. Nevertheless gold rose to 285, as before mentioned, and ceased to circulate in the channels of trade; and with all the vast sources of current revenue the public debt reached \$2,800,000,000. This debt had to be reckoned with, and in doing so the Republican

party, in order to maintain the public credit, took a stand equally commendable with that of the Federal party eighty years before. Mr. Hugh McCulloch, secretary of the treasury, began retiring the greenbacks in 1866, but, after he had withdrawn some \$66,000,000 from circulation in a little over two years, Congress, alarmed at an outcry against it from the West, put a stop to the process. Through the able management of McCulloch the public debt had been reduced before the close of the year 1868 by more than \$200,000,000 while the annual revenue had been cut down \$140,000,000, and nearly all the temporary obligations had been exchanged for long-time bonds.

In 1869 occurred the great gold conspiracy, culminating in "Black Friday." The leading character in this plot to corner the gold market was Jay Gould of New York. It had been the custom of the government to sell a million dollars' worth of gold per month for the accommodation of importers and others. Gould, who was aided by James Fisk and A. R. Corbin, a brother-in-law of President Grant, and one or two others, conspired to corner the gold market; but this could not be done while the government sales continued. They convinced the President, therefore, that it would be better for the country, the movement of the crops, and the like, if the gold sales were suspended. The President innocently consented and promised to grant their request. Lest he should change his mind, however, he was induced, how or by whom is not known, to make a visit of a week or two with an old friend in an obscure town in western Pennsylvania, which was without railroad or telegraphic communication. The conspirators determined to purchase all the gold in sight and then force it to the highest possible point before selling. Everything seemed to work well. The pool

held a hundred millions. On the fatal Friday they purchased twenty-six million at 160, and pandemonium reigned in the stock exchange. But on one thing they had not reckoned. President Grant had returned to Washington, and in response to many letters and telegrams urging him to break the conspiracy, he yielded and threw five millions of gold on the market. This worked like magic. It caused a sudden drop in the gold market, and the conspirators were beaten at their own game. Their losses reached many millions. The panic caused by this plot was temporary and was purely financial. The real panic that was to lay a heavy hand on all the people was four years yet in the future.

We return to our subject—the doings of Congress concerning the public debt. President Grant in his annual message of 1869 recommended that the large portion of the public debt which still bore 6 per cent interest be funded at 4½ per cent. The response was a refunding act in July, 1870, and a supplementary one the following January. These acts authorized the issue of \$500,000,000 of 5 per cent bonds redeemable in ten years, \$300,000,000 at 4½ per cent to run fifteen years, and \$1,000,000,000 of 4 per cent bonds to run thirty years. All were payable in coin and exempt from taxation. The saving to the government occasioned by refunding at a lower rate of interest amounted to many millions a year. But, on the other hand, the revenues were greatly reduced by the expiration of the income tax law at the end of the year 1871, and by the reduction of the duties on tea, coffee, sugar, and some other articles; and yet, the war expenses being cut off, the public debt diminished rapidly, and by the close of the year 1872 it was nearly a thousand million dollars less than at the close of the war.

Before the refunding was completed, the silver question

came into prominence. In February, 1873, a law was passed to "demonetize" silver, or to drop the standard silver dollar of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains from the list of United States coins, and substitute the trade dollar of 420 grains.²¹ This caused a drop in the value of silver, and a popular desire that the old dollar be restored grew up. The result was the Bland-Allison Bill of 1875.²² By this law the secretary of the treasury was directed to purchase enough silver to coin not less than two million nor more than four million dollars a month of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains while, by a law of 1877, the trade dollar ceased to be a legal tender. By a law of 1878, the dollar of $412\frac{1}{2}$ grains was made a legal tender, and the following year silver coins of less than one dollar were made legal tender to the amount of ten dollars. Thus began the silver agitation that was to result in the Sherman Law of 1890, its repeal a few years later, and the great silver movement that was to mark the closing years of the century.

The great aftermath of the inflation of the war period was the panic of 1873. For some years after the war money was plentiful, and the people formed the habit of spending it freely, and of engaging in unwise speculation. The currency had been greatly contracted by the canceling of legal tender notes under Secretary McCulloch. But the people did not take account of the new conditions; they went on in the old way until the crash came. Hundreds of miles of needless railroads were built in the unpeopled West; great business enterprises were undertaken on borrowed capital. As a fever leaves its victim weaker than before, so the fever of inflated prices and overissues of money will in the end

²¹ This act was not opposed by any one, as the silver dollar had long been out of circulation.

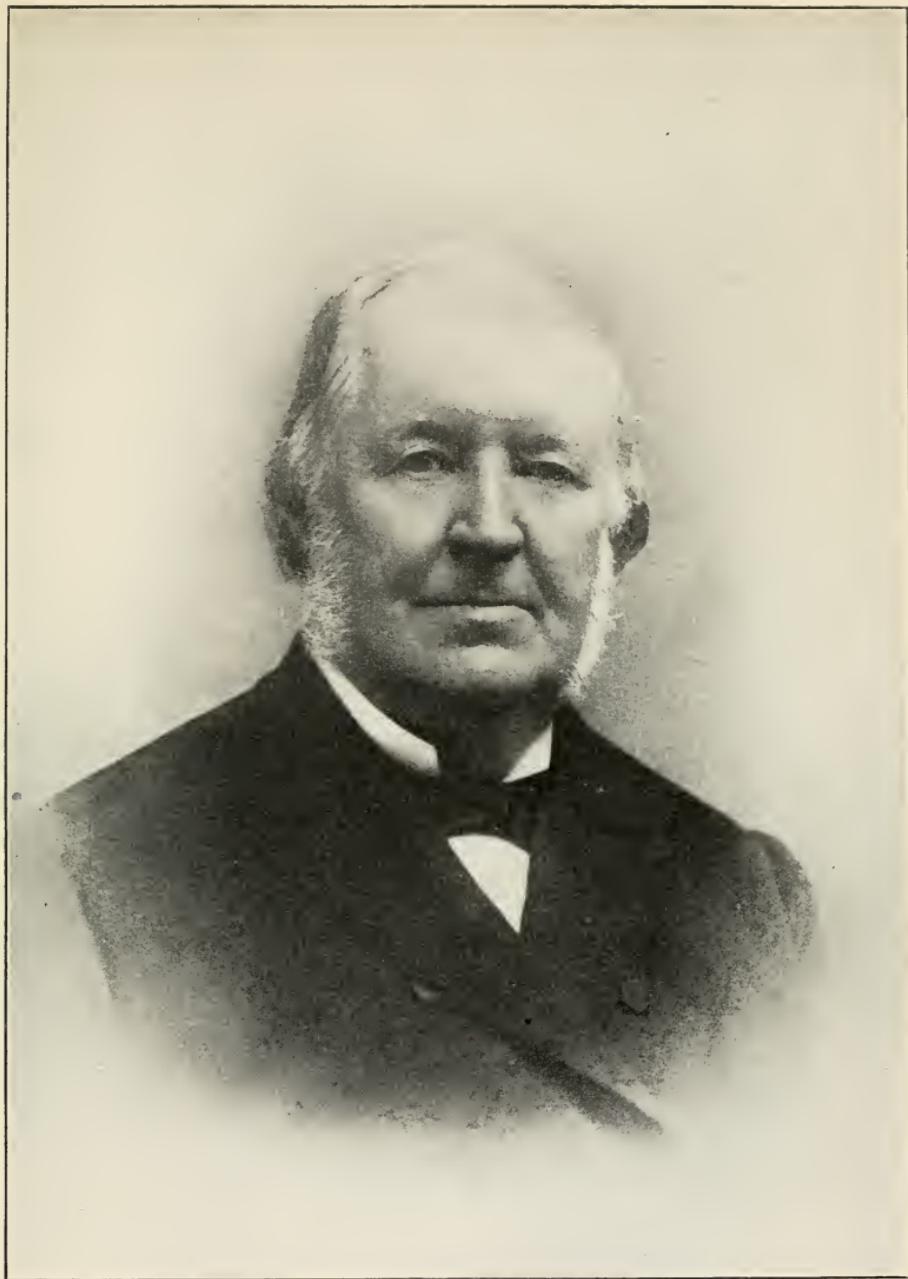
²² Passed over the President's veto.

bring disaster in the business world. The panic of 1873, which ran its course in four or five years, was occasioned, but not caused, by the failure of the great Philadelphia banking house of Jay Cooke and Company on September 18, 1873. This day is known as a second Black Friday. From this day failure followed failure among the great business and banking firms. Business of every sort became stagnant, and only after years of recuperation could the normal conditions of trade be resumed.

POLITICAL REACTION

In our American politics a money panic or an industrial depression, "hard times" from whatever cause and however inevitable, is laid at the door of the party in power. For many scandals in public life and for many other shortcomings the Republican party was, in whole or in part, responsible; but no human wisdom could have prevented the panic of 1873. And yet the party was held responsible for it, and it became a powerful weapon in the hands of the Democrats in their struggle for supremacy. The defeat of Greeley in 1872 left the Democratic party disorganized and prostrate; but in the end the party was strengthened by the escapade. It went down in the disaster, but it had become used to defeat, and it rose with its usual resilience. The Liberal party was crushed to rise no more, and most of its members went back to the Republican fold whence they had come; but not all,—thousands remained with the Democratic party, and in this way was that party strengthened by the Liberal movement.²³

²³ As examples take A. K. McClure and ex-Governor Curtin of Pennsylvania. McClure, one of the ablest editors in the country and the intimate friend of Lincoln, after many years as a Republican manager.



1806—HUGH McCULLOCH—1895.

From a phototype by Frederick Gutekunst, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Republicans had sinned grievously. The party was justly blamed for the corruption that pervaded the administration, for the Crédit Mobilier scandal, and for the "Salary Grab," by which the members of Congress increased their own compensation by 50 per cent, and made the bill retroactive so as to apply to the Congress that passed it,²⁴ but it was unjustly blamed for bringing on the panic of 1873. The people are every ready to listen when their pockets are touched. They heeded the Democratic call for reform. The first note of warning came from Ohio, where, in 1873, the people elected as their governor William Allen, an old-time Democrat who had served in Congress before the Mexican War. New York sounded the next note in the election of Samuel J. Tilden as governor. The political reaction swept the country like a tidal wave, and in 1874 the Democrats carried the country. The Republican majority of nearly a hundred in the Lower House was replaced by a Democratic majority almost as great. Mr. Blaine, who had been Speaker for the past six years, was replaced by Michael C. Kerr of Indiana.

The Republican party, guilty though it was of many misdemeanors, now did a noble act. After a short session the House would pass into other hands, after which no party measure could be enacted. Before the close of the session, therefore, the Republicans passed a law providing for the gradual resumption of specie payments. The act was passed at this time for the purpose of placing the matter beyond the now became a leader of the Democrats. Curtin never went back to the Republicans, but was sent to Congress for several terms as a Democrat. Thomas Ewing and Lyman Trumbull were of this class.

²⁴ So fierce was the cry of the people against this act that the same Congress repealed it.

control of the Democrats, as they were known to oppose it. Resumption of specie payments,—that is, a redeeming of all paper money, or a readiness to redeem it in coin, was necessary to the credit of the nation and to the bringing about of perfectly normal business conditions. The Resumption Act had been recommended in the President's message, and by the secretary of the treasury, B. H. Bristow. It was passed in January, 1875, and was to go into operation just four years later. John Sherman of Ohio, secretary of the treasury during the succeeding administration, became the chief agent in bringing it about, and in doing so he placed himself as a financier in the class with Hamilton, Gallatin, and Chase.

THE CENTENNIAL

A pleasing episode in the midst of political turmoil was the great industrial fair that was held at Philadelphia in commemoration of the nation's birth. The old city from which the Declaration of Independence had emanated was the most fitting place for this Centennial Exhibition, and the expansive Fairmount Park, lying on both sides of the winding Schuylkill, furnished an admirable site. In 1872 Congress passed an act creating a Centennial Board of Finance with full power to transact the financial business. It also created a commission to consist of one delegate from each state and territory, requested the President to proclaim the exposition to the world and invite other nations to participate. Thirty-three countries responded—all the civilized nations, except Greece.

The necessary money was raised by a loan of \$1,500,000 by Congress, an appropriation of an equal sum by Philadelphia, \$1,000,000 by Pennsylvania, smaller amounts by other

states, and the remainder by the sale of stock. Several hundred buildings, large and small, were erected on the grounds. The main building, a great structure covering twenty acres, was devoted chiefly to manufactures and mining products of all nations. Next in size came Machinery Hall, which covered thirteen acres. The chief attraction of this building was the great Corliss engine which furnished the motive power for thousands of connecting machines. Agricultural Hall, covering ten acres, was built in the form of a nave with three transepts. The products here displayed, especially from the great middle West, constituted one of the most attractive features of the fair. These aforementioned buildings were temporary; but Memorial Hall, a substantial granite structure devoted to art, and Horticultural Hall, made of iron and glass in the Moorish style of the twelfth century, were intended to be permanent, and are still standing.

A vast throng of people attended the opening, President Grant and Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil, being the chief figures. The people who entered the gates during the six months of the exhibition, from May 10 to November 10, numbered 9,900,000, a larger attendance than had any previous international exhibition, except that at Paris in 1867, which was open eight months instead of six. The Centennial Exhibition was not successful financially, as its stockholders were never repaid in full. But in the more important objects—the advancing of science and knowledge, the awakening of a fraternal interest between our country and foreign nations and between the various sections of our own country—the exhibition was eminently successful. It proved a stimulus to art, science, and commerce, to agriculture and manufacturing in every branch.

The lesson learned by America was a long-needed lesson in art and grace. The American people, in preparing a great continent for modern civilized life had been painfully practical, and in the great rush of building cities and railroads and inventing machinery had aimed at utility while neglecting the refinements that characterize the older countries. Many of the foreign exhibits at the great fair were of such a character as to awaken in the overpractical American a desire to cultivate the higher graces and refinements of art and beauty that mean so much in modern civilization. The European, on the other hand, was benefited by his contact with the sleepless activity, the ingenious, ever advancing life that characterize America.

THE DISPUTED PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Never but once in our history has there been a disputed presidential election. Twice before the electoral college had failed to choose a President and the election was thrown into the House;²⁵ but in neither case was there any dispute as to the number of votes cast for each candidate. In 1876, however, there was a dispute concerning the number of electoral votes cast for each candidate, and the peace of the country was most seriously threatened.

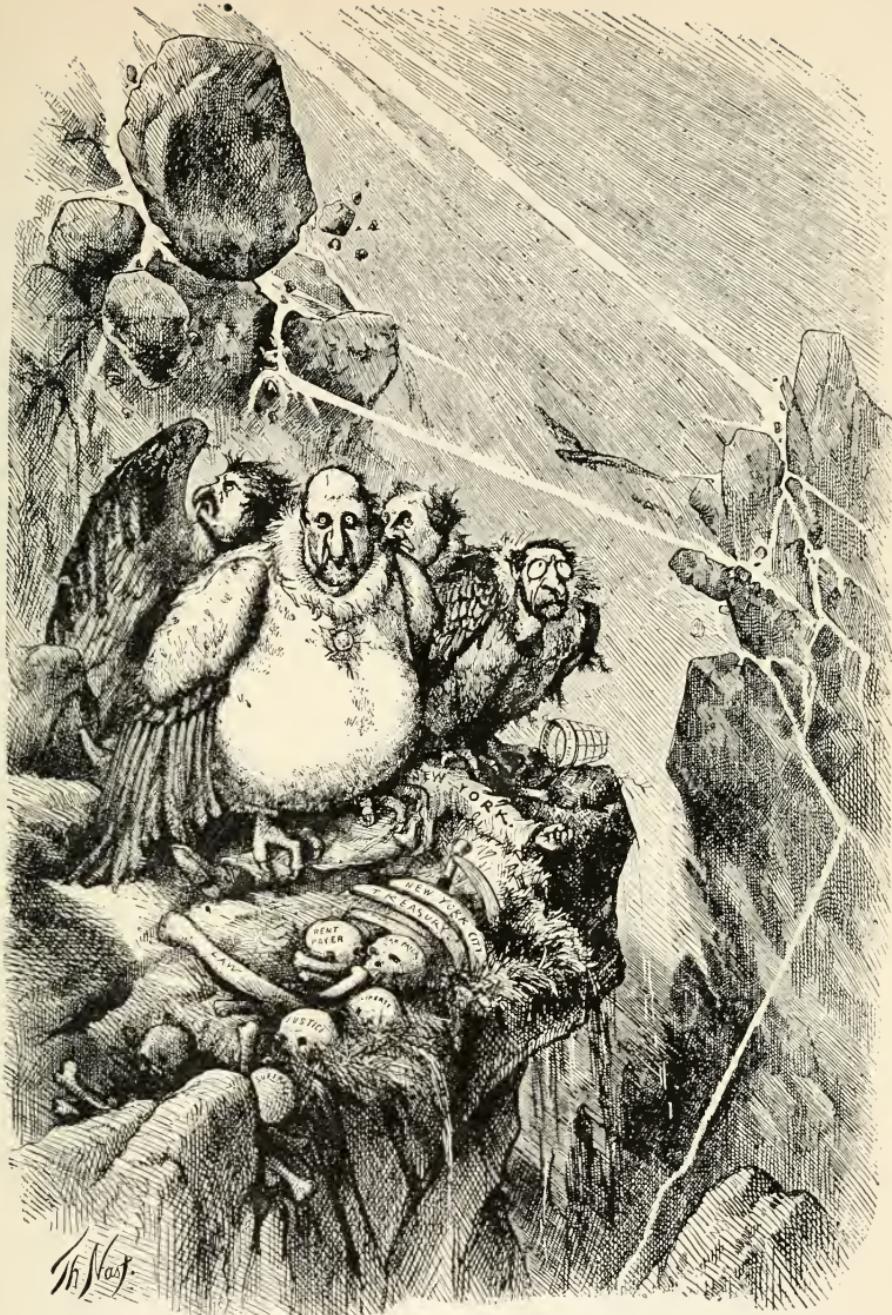
For sixteen years the Republican party had held the reins of government. Its achievements were great and of permanent value; but its many false steps, especially those of Grant's second term, had greatly weakened the party. The great wave of Democracy that swept over the country in 1874 had in some measure subsided; but the sentiment for reform was still strong, and the Democrats eagerly entered the presidential contest of the centennial year.

²⁵ In 1800 and 1824.



1814—SAMUEL JONES TILDEN—1886.

From an original photograph by Sarony, New York.



A GROUP OF VULTURES WAITING FOR THE STORM TO "BLOW OVER."
"LET US PREY."

BY THOMAS NAST, 1871.

From *Harper's Weekly*, September 23, 1871.
Copyright, 1871, by Harper Bros.; 1904, by Albert Bigelow Paine.

The Republicans met in national convention at Cincinnati on the 14th of June. For the first time since 1860 there was to be a contest for the nomination. The man whose following was largest was James G. Blaine of Maine, and his name was put before the convention by Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll in a brilliant outburst of eloquence that made the speaker scarcely less famous than the one for whom he spoke. Blaine was by far the strongest and most popular leader in the party. But his name had been tainted with a charge of corruption, and a certain conservative element of the Republican party regarded him with distrust. Furthermore, he had powerful enemies who were ready to go to any lengths to compass his defeat.²⁸

On the first ballot Blaine fell but little short of the nomination. Six ballots were cast without result; but on the seventh there was a stampede for Governor Hayes of Ohio, who received the nomination. William A. Wheeler of New York was nominated for the vice presidency. The platform sounded the great deeds of the party in the past, promised to punish all public offenders with unsparing severity, and mercilessly arraigned the Democracy as in league with, if not identical with, the late foes of the government.

The nomination of Rutherford B. Hayes was a surprise to the country. He may be classed among the "dark horse" candidates, as no important element of his party had intended to make him the nominee. Hayes had not been looked upon as a leading man of his party, but his record was by no means to be despised. A native of Ohio, and a graduate of the Harvard law school, he had served through

²⁸ A feeble effort was made by the friends of President Grant to have him nominated for a third term; but the plan was killed by an almost unanimous vote in the House of Representatives against it.

the war and had attained the rank of brigadier general. While still in the field he was elected to Congress, where he served four years. It is singular how often the number four recurs in the career of Hayes. Four years he spent as a youth in college; four years he served in the war, being wounded four times; four years he served in Congress, being first elected in 1864; four years and a little over he was governor of Ohio, and four years President of the United States.

The Democratic convention was held in St. Louis two weeks after the nomination of Hayes. For the first time since the passing of Douglas the party enjoyed the leadership of a great man. For many years Samuel J. Tilden of New York had served his party in minor capacities; but only recently—not until he had almost reached his three score years—had he risen in the political sky as a star of the first magnitude. He was a great lawyer, and possessed vast wealth. He had come into national prominence by unearthing the corruptions of the Tweed Ring in New York, and he was then made governor of the state. In a short time he was recognized as the leader of the Democracy in the nation. He beheld his party, as it were, a flock without a shepherd, and quietly assumed control.

Tilden was nominated on the second ballot by a very large majority, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana was given second place on the ticket. The platform sounded, with the ring of a bugle blast, the one note of reform in the government service. And this became the Democratic cry throughout the campaign. It was reiterated and reechoed from every side; the city daily and the country newspaper, the famous orator and the local exhorter in the country schoolhouse—all joined in the one widespread cry of reform. The



THE TAMMANY TIGER LOOSE.

BY THOMAS NAST, 1871.

From *Harper's Weekly*, November 11, 1871.
Copyright, 1871, by Harper Bros.; 1904, by Albert Bigelow Paine.

Democratic orators told the truth, but not the whole truth. Unwearied they were in crying out against the evils of the Republican administration, but its good deeds they left unmentioned; the settlement of the Alabama claims, the provision for a resumption of specie payments, the improvement of the naturalization laws—for such the Democratic orator had no use in 1876.

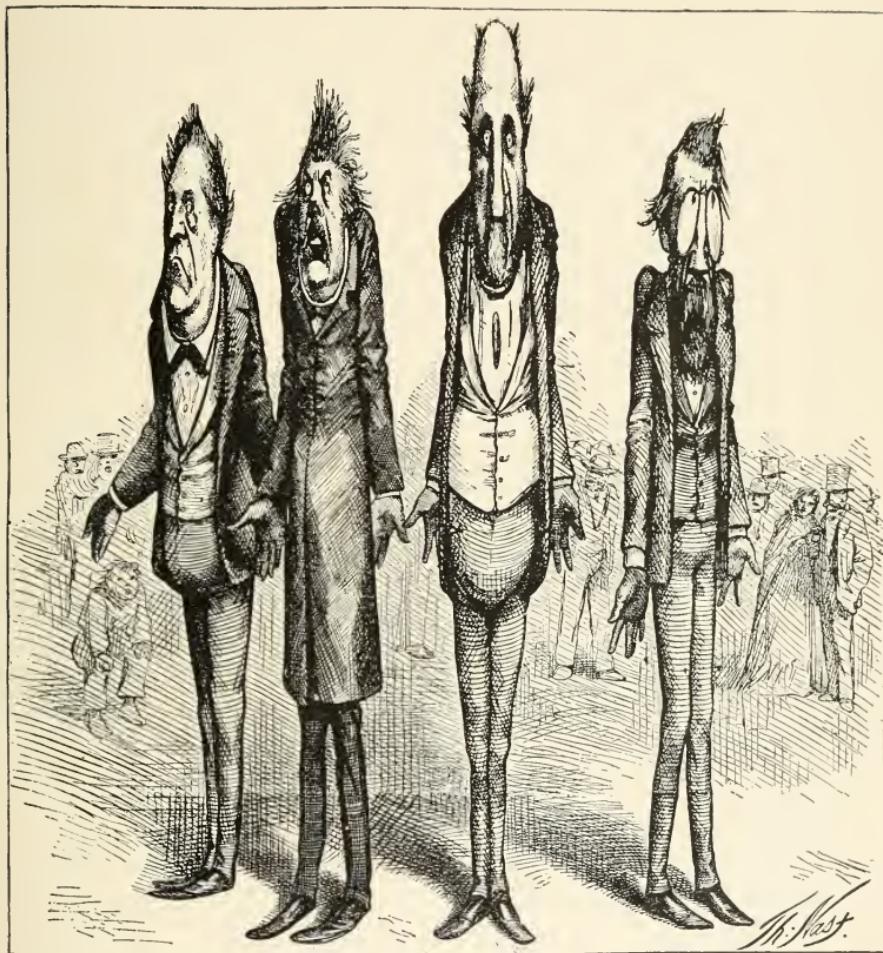
The Republicans were clearly on the defensive. They could not raise a counter cry of corruption, for the Democrats had been out of power for sixteen years, and they resorted to the old device of "waving the bloody shirt." They denounced the Democrats, North and South, as public enemies, unregenerate rebels, and called on the people to meet them at the polls in the same spirit as they had been met on the battle field.²⁷ If the Democrats succeeded to power, the southern war debt would be paid, and perhaps the black man reënslaved. But the cry was well worn; only the least intelligent were frightened by it. As the campaign progressed the Republicans assailed the character of Mr. Tilden, and drew forth from him an explanatory letter which satisfied his followers, but did not silence his accusers.

Besides the two great political parties two smaller ones came into the field in this campaign. The Independent, or Greenback party, nominated the venerable New York philanthropist, Peter Cooper, for the presidency, while the newly organized Prohibition party chose Greene Clay Smith for the same office. But these minor parties cut a small figure in the great contest.

The contest was a close one, as had been foreseen; but no one was prepared for the long, exciting struggle that was to continue throughout the winter. On the morning after

²⁷ *The Nation*, Vol. XXIII, p. 227.

the election, the newspapers of the country announced the election of Tilden; but this was soon disputed by the Republicans, and the struggle, which was supposed to end with election day, had only begun. Tilden had won the states of New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Indiana in the North, and every southern state except three, South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, which were still under carpetbag government. He had also received a popular majority of a quarter of a million votes. It required 185 electoral votes to elect, and Tilden had secured 184 without any from the three disputed states. Mr. Hayes, therefore, to win the presidency must have every elector from these three states. All these states, on the face of the returns, had been carried by Tilden, the majority being 7876 in Louisiana, and somewhat less in each of the others. How then could the Republicans go behind the returns and claim the states? Simply by pronouncing the Democratic majority fraudulent through the "Returning Board," which had absolute judicial power over the elections. The Returning Board in each state was a creation of the carpetbag government, and the carpetbag government was sustained by national troops. If these forces chose, therefore, to pronounce the three states Republican, there was no power to prevent it—and that is exactly what they chose. The matter was decided in high Republican circles at Washington. The prize was vast—the control of a great nation—and the temptation proved too great to be resisted. The Democratic party has been a dreadful sinner since long before the war, has often committed fraud, and even now is unreformed and unfit to control the government. If such a misfortune can be averted by appropriating a few electoral votes, it is quite right to do so. It would in the end be a real service to the country.



“TOO THIN.”

BY THOMAS NAST, 1871.

From *Harper's Weekly*, September 30, 1871.

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Thus reasoned the Republicans, and their conscience in the matter was probably up to the standard of the average political conscience. The Democratic party might have done the same thing under the same conditions.

The returning boards were wholly Republican.²⁸ Their decision was final; and they decided to throw out enough Democratic votes in each state on the cry of fraud to give its electors to Hayes. No doubt there was fraud in all these states, and probably in many others, as there usually is in such elections; but one party is seldom more guilty than the other. The Democrats believed that though they lost South Carolina and Florida, they could certainly hold Louisiana, where the returns gave them a majority of nearly eight thousand. Some of the leading members of each party went to New Orleans to see fair play for their respective parties. The Democrats who went thither proposed joint meetings that all might witness the final count by the returning board, but the Republicans refused their request and excluded them from the meetings.

The returning board in this state was properly composed of five members; but at this moment there were but three, and two of them were negroes.²⁹ The situation was not only grave; it was ludicrous in the extreme. A great nation of fifty million people waited with breathless eagerness for two black men, the majority of the board, both lately emerged from slavery, to name its Chief Magistrate for the ensuing four years. These colored men were utterly insignificant and unknown. At length they decided that Louisiana had cast her electoral vote for Hayes, and while they

²⁸ Except that there was one Democrat on the returning board of Florida.

²⁹ *The Nation*, Vol. XXIII, p. 294.

gave certificates to the Hayes electors, the Democratic governor gave certificates to the Tilden electors.

The Democrats all over the country raised the cry of fraud. The weeks passed. Neither party would yield, and intense excitement prevailed everywhere. The Democrats threatened to raise an army and prevent the seating of Hayes by force. The danger of internecine war was tremendous. Such a war might have been the most appalling in history. Only the deep-seated conservatism of the people, the inborn love of peace and order, saved the country. The people at this crisis looked instinctively to Congress for a solution. But the Senate was Republican and the House Democratic. What could be done? Inauguration day drew near. One proposal for settlement after another was made and rejected. At length, however, it was agreed by a vote of both houses that the matter be settled by a grand tripartite committee of fifteen — five from the Senate, five from the House, and five from the Supreme Court. This committee, known as the Electoral Commission, was to decide the contest, and from their decision there was to be no appeal. When fourteen had been chosen, five from each House and four from the Supreme Court, seven of them were from each political party. Justice David Davis was about to be selected by the four from the Supreme Court, as the fifteenth, as he was considered a neutral in politics; but at that moment the Illinois legislature elected him to the United States Senate as a Democrat. Justice Bradley was then chosen in his stead.³⁰ Davis had supported Tilden in the campaign, while Bradley

³⁰ The Electoral Commission was composed of the following persons: Justices of the Supreme Court, Clifford, Miller, Field, Strong, and Bradley; Senators, Edmunds, Morton, Frelinghuysen, Bayard, and Thurman; Representatives, Payne, Hunton, Abbott, Garfield, and Hoar



1822—RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES—1893.

From an original Brady negative in possession of L. C. Handy, Washington, D.C.

had supported Hayes, and this change was fatal to the chances of Tilden.

The Electoral Commission was thus composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. It was hoped, however, that they would rise above the trammels of party and render a judicial verdict on the pure merits of the case. But this they could not do. On every question that came before them they voted as partisans and not as judges. Double returns had been sent from each of the three disputed states, and in every case, including a disputed elector from Oregon, the commission decided for the Hayes electors by a vote of eight to seven. The final vote was taken on the 2d of March, and two days later General Hayes became President of the United States. The Democrats were greatly disappointed and they found some relief in renewing the cry of fraud, in accusing the Republicans of having stolen the Presidency—and this cry they kept up for many years.

General Hayes was an honest man, and he made a faithful President; but he never ceased to feel keenly the accusation of his opponents that he had accepted an office to which he had not been elected. And yet it is difficult to see how he could have done otherwise, when called to the presidential chair, than obey the mandate of his party, without bringing greater evils upon the country.

Scarcely had Mr. Hayes taken his seat when he withdrew the troops from the three Southern states, which at once passed into the hands of the Democrats, and from that time to the present they all have been steadily Democratic. Thus ended carpetbag rule in the South. The Republican rank and file were not pleased with this action of President Hayes. By thus recognizing the governors and other state officers who had been voted for on the same tickets that had

contained the Tilden electors, the President was in a sense acknowledging that the Tilden electors had received a majority of votes over his own. The act certainly darkened the cloud that hung over his title to the presidency. This was explained by the claim that as the electors may be chosen "in such manner as the legislature of the state may direct," the legislature had the power to commit the choice of electors to the returning boards, though not the choice of state officers. But this was an admission that the Hayes electors had not been chosen at the polls. It developed, however, that the Republican leaders had bargained with the Democrats of these states to withdraw the troops and to give them (the Democrats) full control, if they would agree to the appropriation by the Republicans of the electoral votes. If this is true,—and it is positively stated by Colonel A. K. McClure in his recent book,³¹—it was one of the most unsavory bargains in our political history, and either party was quite as guilty as the other.

³¹ See "Our Presidents," p. 266.

NOTES

The Chicago Fire.—One of the most destructive fires of modern times, and the greatest city fire in history, was that of Chicago, October 8-9, 1871. It started in a small barn in the western district of the city, and burned over nearly 2,200 acres, reducing 17,450 buildings to ashes, and destroying 250 human lives. Some of the finest business blocks were included in this area, as were also many costly private residences, extensive factories, vast piles of lumber, and thousands of tons of coal. The value of the property consumed reached nearly \$200,000,000, and 98,000 people were rendered homeless. The rebuilding of Chicago displayed, as nothing had ever done before, the marvelous energy of the West, and especially the enterprise of the people of this great mid-continent metropolis. On the ruins of the old city a new and grander city was built, and with such rapidity that within a very few years scarcely a trace of the disastrous conflagration remained.

The Tweed Ring.—One of the notable events of 1871 was the un-

earthing of the notorious Tweed Ring in New York. For some years the city had been held by the throat by a gang of politicians, who proved to be thieves plundering the people under the guise of law. The leader of these was W. W. Tweed, formerly a mechanic, then the political "boss"; and with him were associated R. B. Connolly, city comptroller; P. B. Sweeny, head of the public parks department; A. Oakley Hall, the mayor, and others of lesser note. The thieves secured control of all the machinery of the city, and then by forged accounts, by furnishing supplies, giving out contracts, and the like, they looted the treasury of vast sums of money. They charged the city \$12,000,000 for the new city treasury building, which probably cost less than \$2,000,000. The robberies doubtless exceeded \$100,000,000, much of which was used for bribing lower officials. The corruption was exposed largely through the tireless efforts of Samuel J. Tilden. Hall was tried and the jury disagreed. Connolly and Sweeny fled the country. Tweed was sentenced to pay a heavy fine, and to serve twelve years in prison, when he made his escape. He was afterwards caught in Spain and brought back. He died in prison in 1878.

The Burlingame Treaty.—An important event of the year 1868 was the making of the Burlingame Treaty with China. Anson Burlingame, a man with a varied career as a member of the Free-soil and Know-nothing parties, as one of the founders of the Republican party, and as member of Congress from Massachusetts, was sent as minister to China in 1861. After six years' service, when about to return to the United States, the Chinese government offered to make him envoy of that country to the United States, and to the nations of Europe. He accepted, and arrived in the United States with a Chinese embassy in the spring of 1868. They were received with high honor, and a treaty of commerce and amity was soon framed, and was ratified by our Senate in July. Burlingame then proceeded to Europe in the employ of China, and soon had treaties with that country and most of the European countries. Early in 1870, while negotiating at St. Petersburg, he died of pneumonia. The later influx of Chinese to the United States had its origin in the Burlingame Treaty, as it permitted a free migration from one country to the other.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

THE retirement of President Grant was pathetic. As a commander of armies he had won enduring honors, but his eight years' service in the great office of the presidency had added no luster to his name. For the intrigues and corruptions of his administration he was responsible only in so far as he was incapable of perceiving and checking them. That he was personally honest cannot be doubted. He received no share of the plunder of his dishonest officials, and it must have grieved his soul when he realized, as he certainly did, that his administration would be remembered more by the corrupt practices of the officials whom he trusted than for anything else. But the American people have affectionately overlooked his weaknesses, and they remember him as the heroic figure that forced the surrender of Vicksburg and of the Confederate army at Appomattox; while his generous terms at the surrender of Lee and his mild partisanship in the years following endeared him to the people of the South.

NEW CONDITIONS

President Hayes was a sincere man and not without ability; but he was not popular with his party. He never gained, nor attempted to gain, a place in its inner counsels. His withdrawal of the troops from the South displeased



1820 — ANSON BURLINGAME -- 1870.

1865.

From a photograph by Warren, Boston, Mass.

many; his vetoing the Bland Silver Bill won him few friends. All corruptionists were arrayed against the President when they found that he was beyond their reach. Then it must be added that Mr. Hayes had no power to win and manage Congress, as many of his predecessors had done. The Democrats had control of the House, and during the whole four years no distinctive party measure could be passed. In fact, the Democrats on several occasions held up the necessary legislation, such as the appropriation bills, by putting on riders for the repeal of some obnoxious Republican law, notably the General Elections Law of 1872. Every effort to coerce the President was resorted to, such as refusing appropriations necessary to carry out the laws, but the President refused to yield; he vetoed one measure after another and triumphed in the end. But these were only ripples compared with the turbulent breakers of the past, and the Hayes administration was of great benefit to the country as a season of political restfulness. From the outbreak of the war fifteen years before, the violence of partisan or military contest, or both, had been incessant. Now for the first time since the firing on Fort Sumter the South was left to take care of itself, the great parties were well balanced, and the people were free to turn their attention to the industrial development of the country. They felt too, as never before, the oneness of the nation. The bitterness engendered by the great civil strife was beginning to soften, and, but for the occasional rumors of violence at the South, the negro question and the secession question passed out of the public mind. For half a century such political quiet had been unknown; and for the first time in American history the national pride was rightfully enthroned.

in the public heart, and state pride forever relegated to the second place.

Mr. Hayes was fortunate in securing William M. Evarts as secretary of state and John Sherman as secretary of the treasury. The great task before Sherman was to bring about resumption of specie payments without disturbing the business of the country. This he did with admirable skill, and when the day of resuming came (January 1, 1879), not a ripple did it make on the business world. The secretary had \$130,000,000 in gold with which to redeem outstanding notes; but few were offered, so great was the confidence of the people in the government.

During the last half of the Hayes administration the Democrats were in full control of both houses of Congress—for the first time since 1858. But owing to the veto power of the Republican President the Democrats could carry out no party measure. The deadlock continued for ten years longer.³² Meantime the people turned their attention to business. For the first time the resources of the South were added to the economic forces of the nation. The system of labor in the South before the war was such that only the agricultural interests could be developed. The vast coal beds, covering some forty thousand square miles, the extensive iron deposits, the illimitable timber regions—all had remained unused. But now the old system was swept away, the whole South was thrown open to the labor of the world, mines were opened and manufactories built, and this without any decrease, but indeed with a steady increase, of the production of cotton.

³² Except for two years, 1881-1883, when the Republicans, who controlled the House by one vote, also controlled the Senate by the single deciding vote of the Vice President.



1818—WILLIAM MAXWELL EVARTS—1901.

From an original photograph by C. M. Bell, Washington, D.C.

One effect of the newly awakened industrial life was that the great business interests of the country became centralized in the hands of a comparatively few men. Great corporations were organized, and as a partial result the labor world became restless. In 1877 the great railroad strike occurred. The employees of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad went on a strike on the 14th of July, and they were soon followed by the employees of all the other great lines east of the Mississippi, and for two weeks all traffic in that great section was at a standstill. The strikers took possession of the railroad property,—tracks, yards, roundhouses, and rolling stock,—and in Pittsburg, the center of the disturbance, there were serious riots, resulting in many deaths, and in the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property. In Martinsburg, West Virginia, in Baltimore and other places there was much rioting and frequent conflicts between the rioters and the troops sent to keep the peace. The governors of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia were forced to call for national troops to aid them in enforcing the laws. By the end of July the fire of mob violence had burned out and the strikers resumed work. In some instances the strikers had won some advantage by the strike; but in many cases they went back to work without any substantial gain.

The railway strike was contagious. It was followed by sympathetic strikes in many callings—coal-mining, manufacturing, and many branches of industry in which the wages of the laborer were low—and the disturbance spread to the Pacific Coast. The most serious of these was the strike of the anthracite miners of Pennsylvania, which spread to the bituminous regions of West Virginia and westward to Illinois. The twofold grievance of the miners was too low

wages, and the obligation to purchase all their supplies at the company stores at exorbitant prices. The miners, who had the general sympathy of the public, won in the contest and gained an advance of 10 per cent in wages.³³

Close upon these events followed a labor agitation of a different kind on the Pacific Coast, known as the anti-Chinese movement. The Chinese began migrating to California in large numbers soon after the concluding of the Burlingame Treaty. Their willingness to work for very low wages rendered them, as their numbers increased, undesirable competitors with white laborers. After earning a few hundred dollars they would betake themselves back to their native land, whence hordes of their brethren would come to America to repeat the process. In no case did the Mongolian pretend to become an element in American society; he remained apart from the body politic, retaining his peculiar customs and superstitions. The Chinese threatened to deluge the whole western coast with their undesirable presence. After various sporadic efforts that came to nothing, a movement against Chinese immigration was set on foot in 1877. The laborers of San Francisco, led by Dennis Kearney, one of their number, held many open meetings to denounce Chinese labor and immigration. The meetings were disorderly, and the leaders, including Kearney, were imprisoned. But the movement would not subside. Congress was petitioned to take up the matter, to the end that the Burlingame Treaty be modified in the interest of the people of the Pacific Coast. In 1878 Congress passed a Chinese Exclusion measure, which, however, was vetoed

³³ Just before this strike the notorious Mollie Maguires, a murderous band that had spread terror through the coal regions of Pennsylvania for several years, were run down and captured, several of the leaders being hanged.



1823—JOHN SHERMAN—1900.

From an enlarged photograph.

by President Hayes. Years passed and the Chinese continued to come in increasing numbers. The agitation was renewed, and in 1882 a Chinese Exclusion law was enacted. This was followed in May, 1892, by the Geary Chinese Exclusion Law, introduced by representative Geary of California. This law was the most sweeping of its kind ever enacted by any country, and it awakened a vigorous protest from the Chinese government. While to some extent evaded, the law has greatly relieved the western coast of a most undesirable class.

About the time of Hayes's accession to the presidency an industrial movement of the farmers reached its height. The Patrons of Husbandry, commonly called Grangers, was a secret organization for the promotion of agricultural interests. It was organized in Washington in 1867, admitted both men and women to membership, and professed to be non-political, though it had much political influence in forcing a reduction of the exorbitant freight rates of the railroad corporations. In 1876 the membership reached at least a million and a half.

Another agricultural society, the Farmers' Alliance, was organized in 1873. It spread rapidly until it became national in scope.³⁴ It is not a secret order, as is the order of Grangers, but it gives more attention to questions of politics. The Alliance opposes the alien ownership of land, national banks, and federal election laws.

THE FISHERIES DISPUTE

The most important matter in our foreign relations during the Hayes administration was the settlement of the Canadian fisheries question, as provided for in the Treaty of Wash-

³⁴ The national organization was not completed till 1889.

ton of 1871. For more than half a century the Atlantic coast fisheries had been the subject of controversy between the United States and England. The treaty made at the close of the Revolution continued to the citizens of the new republic the right to fish in Canadian waters, which they had enjoyed as colonists. But at the making of the Treaty of Ghent, at the close of the War of 1812, the British claimed that all existing treaties were abrogated and that our fishing rights had expired. The treaty, however, left the matter unmentioned and the Americans continued to exercise the rights granted in the former treaty.

But in 1818 another treaty was concluded, by which the Americans, for the privilege of taking and curing fish on the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador, renounced forever the right to take, dry, or cure fish within three marine miles of any of the coasts of his Majesty's other possessions in America. From this moment the trouble began. The difficulty of determining the three-mile limit, the presence of armed vessels to prevent violations of the treaty, and the rulings of the local courts by which alleged violators were tried, each played its part in disturbing the peace between the two countries. This disturbance continued until 1854, when a new treaty was made. This is known as the Reciprocity Treaty. It restored the rights of the Americans substantially as granted by the Treaty of 1783, but at a great price. The price was reciprocity or free trade between the United States and Canada in a great many kinds of goods, nearly all of which favored Canadian interests. The markets of the United States were thrown open to Canada for nearly every article she could produce. The treaty provided that either party could cancel it after ten years by giving a year's notice. This notice was given by the United



1839—GEORGE ARMSTRONG CUSTER—1876.

From an original Brady negative in possession of L. C. Handy, Washington, D.C.

States in 1865; and the next year the treaty terminated, reciprocity was discontinued, and in the matter of the fisheries the provisions of the old Treaty of 1818 were again in force.

This brings us to the Treaty of Washington of 1871. It was hoped that the Joint High Commission would reach a permanent settlement of this vexed question; but the hope was not fully realized. The British commissioners desired to restore the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, but the Americans would not consent to it. They intimated, however, that the United States might be willing to pay \$1,000,000 for the permanent use of the inshore fisheries,—that is, within the three-mile limit. The English commissioners thought this sum entirely too small. When the treaty was at length arranged, it provided that the privilege of the inshore fisheries along the coast of Canada be granted to the Americans, and for this privilege the Canadians received a free market in the United States for salt-water fish and fish-oil. But as the Canadians were supposed to be granting more than they received, it was provided that a commission of three be appointed to determine the amount of money that should be paid by the United States. One of these was to be appointed by the President, another by the Queen of England, while the third was to be chosen by the President and Queen conjointly.

The commissioners met at Halifax in the summer of 1877. The case was ably argued on both sides, and as the American and English commissioner could not agree, the Belgian minister, who was the third commissioner, was left to name the compensation. He named \$5,500,000. The British were greatly gratified and the Americans astonished at the amount of the award. It was not the payment of the money that

created excitement, for the United States is very rich and such a sum is but a trifle; it was the sense of being the victim of extortion that caused ill feeling. Secretary of State Evarts gave statistics to show that all the fish taken by American fishermen during the time in question could not possibly leave a balance in England's favor of more than \$1,500,000, to say nothing of the privileges granted to Canada. But the British, who had lost in the other two items of the Treaty of Washington, the Alabama claims and the boundary controversy, insisted that the report of the commission be accepted; and Congress voted the money and it was paid to the last dollar. But the matter left a sting in the minds of the American people, and a few years later the President, instructed by Congress, annulled the treaty, and the fisheries question became more troublesome than ever, as we shall notice later.

THE GARFIELD TRAGEDY

Three times in our history has our President suffered death at the hands of an assassin. The first of these tragedies occurred at the close of the great war while the blood of the combatants still boiled. The second, in time of peace, had its origin in a deadly feud between two great Republican leaders, and was the work of a half-witted fanatic who believed that he would be made a hero for his deed by the faction of the party that opposed the President. The feud was between James G. Blaine and Roscoe Conkling, and it began many years before. Blaine, a young editor from Maine, first entered the House in 1863. Though he found there many strong leaders, he soon proved himself one of the strongest; and he began a course of party leadership unrivaled since the passing of Henry Clay. When Blaine



1829—ROSCOE CONKLING—1888.

From a photograph by Carl K. Frey, Utica, N.Y.

entered Congress he found, among other leaders, the brilliant young lawyer from New York, Roscoe Conkling. Blaine and Conkling were wholly unlike in mental endowments. Blaine was hale and genial; Conkling was dignified and self-contained. Blaine delighted to win new friends and to grapple them to his soul with hooks of steel; Conkling delighted in winning admiration, in wounding his enemies with his wit and sarcasm, and in dazzling his hearers with rounded periods of eloquence. As a party leader, a winner of popular applause, Blaine far surpassed Conkling; as an orator of brilliant diction and rhetorical power, Conkling greatly excelled Blaine.

Scarcely had these two men met in Congress when a rivalry sprung up between them, and it was soon seen that there would be a clash. The occasion arose in April, 1866, when the House was considering a bill to reorganize the army. The New York and Maine statesmen had a fierce war of words on the floor of the House. Each lost his temper and denounced the other unsparingly. At length, after the conflict had continued for two or three days, Blaine poured forth one of the most extravagant tirades of sarcastic scorn and vituperation ever heard on the floor of Congress. "The contempt of that large-minded gentleman," said he, "is so wilting, his haughty disdain, his grandiloquent swell, his majestic, supereminent, overpowering, turkey-gobbler strut, have been so crushing to myself and to all the members of the House, that I know it was an act of the greatest temerity for me to enter upon a controversy with him."

Conkling was mortally offended, and from that day to the end of his life he never spoke to Blaine. Soon after this Conkling was transferred to the Senate, and Blaine became Speaker of the House. In later years friends of the two

attempted to bring about a reconciliation between them. Blaine expressed his willingness, but Conkling met every overture with a scornful refusal.

The Blaine-Conkling feud had its results. Not only did Conkling prevent the nomination of Blaine for the presidency in 1880; he caused the defeat of Blaine when the latter was nominated four years later. A few years after this quarrel in the house, Blaine had come to be looked upon as the leading Republican of his time. He received a heavy vote in the convention of 1876. Mr. Hayes, who was nominated and elected, was pledged to a single term, and Blaine was hailed as the coming man for 1880. But a change came o'er the spirit of his dream.

General Grant, on ceasing to be President, had made a tour round the world. He received high honor from foreign peoples and potentates, not only as an American and a former President, but chiefly as a soldier, for the chivalry in men's minds still places the warrior above the statesman, the orator, and the poet. The reception of Grant in foreign lands became a matter of national pride to all Americans; and when, after an absence of three years, the vessel that bore the illustrious traveler was moored in the haven at the Golden Gate, a wild shout of welcome arose from the people. The progress of Grant from San Francisco to Philadelphia, whence he had started, was one continuous ovation. Men forgot the scandals of his administration; their minds went back to remoter days. They saw now in his silent dignity the hero of Donelson, of Vicksburg, of Appomattox.

It happened that at this moment there was a large faction in the Republican party searching for a man. This faction opposed Blaine for President, and looked with dismay upon his growing favor with the people. They wanted a man



1824 — WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK — 1886.

1864.

From an original photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

who could be successfully pitted against Blaine. Grant had already been spoken of for a third term. His great reception from abroad proved his popularity. Why let all this enthusiasm go to waste? So thought the leaders of the anti-Blaine faction of the Republican party in 1880, and they decided on Grant as their choice for President. The leader of this faction, a man of vast resources and power, was Roscoe Conkling of New York.

The convention met in Chicago the first week in June. Conkling had a solid phalanx of a little over three hundred delegates for Grant. Blaine, however, was the popular choice, and his nomination would never have been doubtful had his forces been managed by a leader equal to Conkling. The speech of Conkling in nominating Grant has been pronounced second only to that of Ingersoll in presenting the name of Blaine at Cincinnati four years before. A third candidate, John Sherman of Ohio, was nominated by General James A. Garfield in a speech scarcely less eloquent than that of Conkling. Thirty-five ballots were taken without success, and it was evident that neither Blaine nor Grant could be nominated. A dark horse must be found, and the choice fell upon Garfield. On the thirty-sixth ballot there was a sudden breaking up of the convention—the Blaine men, the Sherman men, the scattering votes, all except the Grant phalanx of 306, made a dash for Garfield, and he was nominated by a large majority. The scene was indescribable. The boom of cannon from without, the bands of music and the shouts of the multitude within the great hall, made an uproar that no pen can picture. The newly made hero sat amid the waving flags and banners, dazed and speechless, as one awakened from a dream.

Garfield was not the choice of the convention. His nomi-

nation was almost an accident. He happened to be on the uppermost crest of the popular wave when the inevitable break came; and the gate was opened to him for great honor and position, such as many strive for and do not attain, and for the mournful tragedy that was to follow—all within a year. Garfield was one of the many public men in America who rose from the commonest walks of life. His father, a plodding farmer in the wilderness of northern Ohio, died in early manhood. James was still a child; as he grew toward manhood he yearned for an education, and between his working hours,—on the farm, in the carpenter shop, or driving the mules of a canal boat,—he succeeded in preparing himself for college. After being graduated he became a professor, then president of a small college in Ohio. Next we find him in the Ohio legislature, then an officer in the Civil War, and later a member of the Lower House of Congress, where he served without a break for eighteen years. He was then elected to the United States Senate, but had not entered that body when nominated at Chicago. Garfield was not great nor brilliant as a statesman, though he had much power as an orator; he was sturdy, honest, reliable, and his selection proved a healing balm to the warring factions of his party. To appease the Conkling faction the convention chose one of that faction, Chester A. Arthur, for the second place on the ticket.

The Democrats nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, the ideal soldier, one of the heroes of Gettysburg and of Spottsylvania, for the presidency, and W. H. English for the vice presidency. The Greenback party, which had cast but eighty thousand votes for Peter Cooper in 1876 and had rolled up a million two years later in the state elections, put forward General James B. Weaver of Iowa, and the Pro-



1831—JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD—1881.

From an original Brady negative in possession of L. C. Handy, Washington, D.C.

hibitionists presented General Neal Dow of Maine. It is notable that all four of the presidential candidates bore the military title of general.

The campaign was singularly free from bitterness, vituperation, and personal attacks. Garfield was elected by an electoral vote of 214 to 155 for Hancock; but his popular plurality in a vote exceeding 9,000,000 was less than 10,000. The Greenback party polled 308,000 and carried no state, while the Prohibition vote was but 10,000.

The Republican factions had worked together during the campaign, but the trouble broke out afresh when Garfield chose Blaine for his secretary of state. This was galling to Conkling, and Blaine doubtless felt a sense of triumph over his great enemy. He had often expressed a willingness to be reconciled to his antagonist, but at heart he thoroughly disliked Conkling and had no desire to be his friend. Conkling was bold and open in his antagonism; Blaine was wily and cunning, nor did he lose an opportunity to give the enraged lion a stealthy prod, and then turn to an inquiring public with, "What is he howling about?"

The times were ominous at the opening of the new term. Never had the office seeker been more clamorous for place. The two factions of the dominant party were ready again to break into open war for spoils. Soon came the occasion; Garfield appointed Judge Robertson collector of the port of New York. Robertson was a friend of Blaine and an enemy of Conkling, and Conkling, joined by his colleague, Thomas C. Platt, requested, almost demanded, that the appointment be withdrawn. But the President refused, no doubt through the influence of Blaine, for Garfield had no personal object in offending Conkling or promoting Robertson. Various writers have asserted that Blaine was a neutral observer, and

had nothing to do with this appointment or with the refusal to withdraw it. But this contradicts the logic of the whole situation. Garfield was not a powerful leader, as was Blaine. He had reached the limit of his capacity in Congress, while that of Blaine was yet unmeasured. Nor had Garfield the will power, the moral fiber, to stand out for a principle, and it was only natural that he leaned heavily upon his great secretary of state. The course of the President in this affair can be explained only by attributing it to the influence of Blaine. When Conkling and Platt discovered that they could not secure the withdrawal of the name of Robertson, nor prevent its confirmation by the Senate, they resigned petulantly from that body, expecting to be vindicated by a reëlection by the New York legislature. But both were defeated. This closed the public career of Roscoe Conkling—but we shall meet him once more in this history.

This episode opened wide the breach in the Republican party. The Conkling wing was known as "Stalwarts," the Blaine-Garfield wing as "Half-breeds." Alarming was the condition of the party, when suddenly, on July 2, 1881, the country was thrown into consternation at the assassination of the President. The assassin was Charles J. Guiteau, a disappointed office seeker, a rattle-brained egotist from New York who proclaimed himself a "Stalwart of the Stalwarts," a "lawyer, theologian, and politician." He declared that the President's "removal" was a political necessity, as it would reunite the Republican party. He was plainly a man of disordered brain, nor was the country warranted in crying out frantically for his blood. After a long trial the following winter he was convicted and put to death. He should have been shut up for the rest of his natural life in an insane

asylum. The jury simply reflected public opinion, which clamored for the prisoner's life.³⁵

President Garfield was shot through the body. It was at first thought that he would die within the hour; but he rallied, and lingered for many weeks through the hot summer months. The nation waited and hoped and prayed. The illustrious patient bore up bravely; he never groaned nor complained; he signed a few official papers, but was never able to raise his head from the pillow. In August the President was removed to a cottage by the sea; but the benefit was slight, and on the night of September 19 he died. A few hours later—some hours before day the next morning—Chester A. Arthur was sworn into the great office in his own house in the city of New York, and the government passed into the hands of the Stalwarts. The dead President was borne to Cleveland, Ohio, the beautiful lake city near which he had been born and had always lived, and here, on a grassy mound, amid a countless throng of weeping admirers, the body was laid to rest.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

Chester Alan Arthur had been an obscure politician in New York, and was known as a leader in polite society circles rather than as a statesman. No man had ever become President of the United States who was so little known to the great public as was Arthur, and many were alarmed because his ability and character were unknown, and espe-

³⁵ One of the experts employed to pronounce on the sanity of Guiteau acknowledged, twenty years later, that they all agreed that he was insane, but feared to say so because of the excited state of the public. For a fuller account of the Garfield tragedy see "Side Lights," Series II, Chap. XII.

cially because they feared that he would represent, not the country as a whole, nor even the great party that had elected him, but the faction of that party to which he belonged. But Arthur was not long in the presidential chair before he put all such fears at rest. He rose above all subserviency to faction and even to his party; he became the people's President in the true sense of the term; and so wise and able was his administration that nothing except Blaine's powerful hold on the party prevented his nomination for another term.³⁶ The Cabinet was gradually changed until none of the Garfield Cabinet remained except Robert T. Lincoln, son of the great war President.

This administration was not marked by any great and stirring events. The interest of the people was enlisted in the centennial celebration of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781, in the great industrial exposition of 1881 at Atlanta, Georgia, in another greater one at New Orleans three years later, and in two American exploring expeditions into the Arctic seas.

The attention of the public was also attracted in 1881 by the "Star-route" frauds. These routes were mail lines in the interior of the country where the mail could not be carried by railroad or by steamboat.³⁷ Thomas J. Brady, second assistant postmaster-general, S. W. Dorsey, a Republican senator from Arkansas, and others, were accused of conspiring with certain mail-carrying contractors to defraud the government. For several years the combination stole from the government about half a million dollars a year.

³⁶ So impartial and independent was Arthur's course, and so decidedly did he refuse to cater to the Stalwart faction, that even Conkling soon became estranged from him.

³⁷ The name "star" route arose from the use of a star on the map to indicate these routes.



1825—GEORGE HUNT PENDLETON—1889.

1885.

From an original photograph by Reichard & Lindner, Berlin, Germany.

The business was broken up by publicity and the dismissal of several prominent officials. Some of the alleged conspirators were put on trial, but no punishment followed.

We now come to the chief legislative movement of the Arthur administration—the reform in the civil service. When the federal government was organized, the civil service officials were appointed without any limit as to time, but their tenure of office was wholly subject to the appointing power, the President.

For half a century the spoils system had held full sway.³⁸ Public officials had come to feel that they were serving their party rather than their country, or were simply receiving their just reward for mere party zeal. The system was pernicious and destructive of all good government; but, against the protests of many honest men, it continued unbroken till Grant became President. A fruitless effort was then made to reform the civil service. In 1871 Congress, forced by public opinion and in spite of the protests of the professional politicians, passed an act authorizing the President to make certain changes in the methods of appointing subordinate officers. Grant thereupon appointed a civil service commission of eminent men, who established a system of competitive examinations for appointments to office. The system continued for three years when Congress, again under the sway of the politicians, refused longer to vote money to carry it on, and it had to fall to the ground. President Hayes throughout his term of office made strenuous but futile efforts to reestablish the reform in the service. The evil system might have continued indefinitely but for the tragic taking off of Garfield. His death was an indirect

³⁸ For the Crawford Act and the origin of the spoils system, see *ante* Vol. III, p. 82.

result of the pernicious system, for it was a New York appointment that tore open the half-healed wound in the Republican party and rent it in twain, and it was a disappointed office seeker that took his life. Public opinion now called with overmastering power for a reform in the civil service, and Congress heeded the call of its master.

In 1882 Mr. Pendleton, a Democratic senator from Ohio, introduced a bill to reëstablish the civil service on the merit system. Both houses were Republican, but the autumn elections swept that party from power in the House. The leaders of the party saw in this a warning from an impatient public that trifling with civil service reform would be tolerated no longer, and, by an almost unanimous vote, the Pendleton measure became law in January, 1883. At first but few classes came under the new law, but successive Presidents have enlarged the list until it includes nearly every branch of the government service. President Arthur with sincerity and courage set about putting the new law into operation, and it is a matter of great gratification to the country that all our recent Presidents have in this way limited and restricted their own power, and that of their chief supporters, for the good of the public service. Other legislation of importance that marked the official term of President Arthur included the "Edmunds law" against polygamy in the territories, aimed chiefly at the habits of the Mormons of Utah, and a tariff act. The tariff was at this time rapidly becoming a prominent issue. The high duties of war times had been for the most part retained, and a cry from the West for a reduction of duties was too strong to be resisted. As early as 1872 a general outcry from the West against the high tariff resulted in the reduction of many duties; but three years later, when the clamor had



1830—CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR—1886.

1882.

From an original photograph by C. M. Bell, Washington, D.C.

subsided, the duties were quietly restored. Again, in the early eighties, the subject came to the front. In 1882 a tariff commission, recommended by President Arthur, was appointed. This commission made a report to Congress in December, 1882, and out of this grew the tariff of 1883, a measure that pleased no one. It was an abortive attempt to reduce the duties, but while it reduced them on many articles, it actually raised them on such articles as woolen dress goods, where a reduction would have brought relief.²⁹ Thus far the tariff was not strictly a partisan question, nor had it been so for nearly forty years; but it was soon to become the chief issue between the two great parties.

A POLITICAL REVOLUTION

For four and twenty years the Republican party had held supremacy in the government. In that time its achievements had been great. But the party had made many serious blunders, and on these its powerful rival had fattened until it now seemed ready to seize the reins of government.

The Republican convention met in Chicago the first week in June, 1884. There were many candidates, but the idol of the party was "the magnetic man from Maine," and his nomination was assured from the beginning. Blaine led all others on the first three ballots and was nominated on the fourth. The convention then wisely chose for second place one of the most prominent of the leaders of the Stalwarts, General John A. Logan of Illinois. In the platform the party fulsomely praised itself for its past good deeds, pronounced for a protective tariff, and heartily indorsed civil service reform.

The Democrats met in the same city a few weeks later and

²⁹ Taussig's "Tariff History," p. 234.

nominated Grover Cleveland, governor of New York, for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice President. In their platform they pointed out the moral decay of the Republican party, and mercilessly arraigned that party for not keeping faith with the people, making, at the same time, the most glowing promises to correct every abuse if the people would intrust them with power. They also called for a reduction of the tariff without injuring "any domestic industries."

The Prohibitionists nominated Governor John P. St. John of Kansas for President. The Greenback, now called the National, party chose Benjamin F. Butler as its standard bearer, and Butler was also nominated by the new-born Anti-Monopoly party. The great interest of the people, however, centered in the candidates of the two great political parties. Of these two men one had been in the public gaze as a party leader for many years, and frequent have been our references to his career; the other was a new star in the political sky.

Grover Cleveland, the son of a clergyman, was born in New Jersey in the same year and the same month that witnessed the inauguration of Martin Van Buren, the only President yet elected from New York. A few years later the family moved to a village near Syracuse, New York, where most of Grover's boyhood was spent.

Denied a college education by the early death of his father, the boy at length determined to go westward and seek his fortune. He started for Cleveland, Ohio, being attracted by the name, but he stopped on the way at Buffalo, and made that city his home. He had determined to become a lawyer, and he soon found a place with one of the largest law firms of the city.



1830—JAMES GILLESPIE BLAINE—1893.

From an original photograph by Sarony, New York.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he was a lawyer of good standing and a fair income. When President Lincoln made his first call for volunteers, he and his two brothers held a conference about their duty to the country, and it was decided that two of them answer the President's call, while the third should remain at home to care for their mother; and as Grover's income exceeded that of the others, he was chosen to remain, while the others entered the army.⁴⁰

In the late seventies he was elected reform mayor of Buffalo. His record as mayor attracted wide attention. Against a most corrupt city council he strove unceasingly and he won in every contest. His scathing veto messages awakened the people as nothing had done before to the fact that they were being robbed by their officials. He saved the city over \$800,000 on a sewer contract, and \$109,000 annually in the street-cleaning department.

In 1882, when his party wanted a reform candidate for governor of the state, they naturally turned to the mayor of Buffalo. The Republicans had nominated Judge Folger of President Arthur's Cabinet, against the will of the rank and file of the party, who desired the renomination of Governor Cornell. Thousands of them now turned to Cleveland, and he was elected by a plurality of almost two hundred thousand. It happened that the legislature of New York, like the city council of Buffalo, was controlled by a "machine" which had many political debts to pay and many political fences to repair—at public expense. But here sat the reform governor, quiet, unostentatious, businesslike, watching the interests of the people, and every bill sent him that savored of corruption was sent back with a positive

⁴⁰ Stoddard's "Life of Cleveland," p. 40. The two brothers returned safe from the war, but both were lost at sea in 1872.

veto. The people applauded. The politicians grew angry and raised the cry that Cleveland was bidding for the presidency by appealing over their heads to the people; but when he vetoed a bill to compel the Elevated Railway Company of New York City to reduce its fare to five cents, because it would impair the obligation of a contract and be "a breach of faith on the part of the state," and when he vetoed another appropriating money to the Catholic Protectorate because it was purely a sectarian institution, his enemies were at a loss to explain. He vetoed the one bill against the wishes of ninety-nine out of every hundred people of the metropolis, and the other at the risk of offending great numbers of Catholic voters. Such actions exhibited a moral courage that was astonishing, or an indifference to public opinion that was equally so. Cleveland thus proved himself entirely beyond the control of the political bosses of New York, and against their fierce opposition he was nominated for President at Chicago.

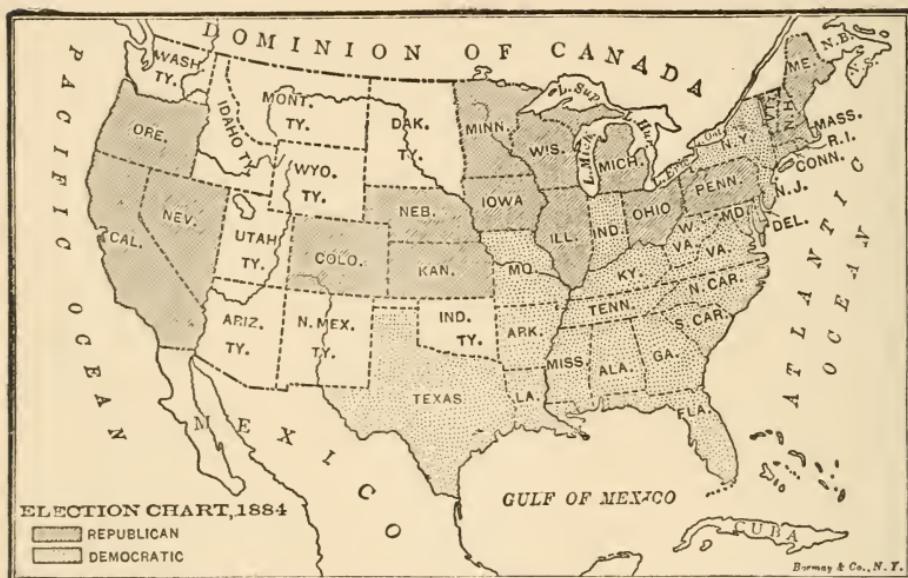
The chief issue of the campaign was, nominally, the tariff, the Republicans having pronounced for protection and the Democrats, in a halting way, for tariff reform; but in fact the campaign became a personal one between the two leading candidates. Both parties stooped to defamation of character and indecent personalities. Mr. Blaine was a strong and fearless leader, and he took personal charge of his canvass; but he was unfortunate from the beginning. A strong element of his party, who came to be known as "Mugwumps,"⁴¹ opposed him bitterly and supported Cleveland. Among these were Henry Ward Beecher and George William Curtis.

⁴¹ Mugwump is an Algonkin word and means chief. It was long in use in parts of New England, but before this campaign its use was not general.

These men, whose motives were beyond question, had many followers. They not only distrusted Blaine; they believed that with the dawn of the new industrial era the old leaders of war and reconstruction should be set aside, and the government placed into new hands. The Prohibitionists, who held the balance of power in New York, and whose vote would be drawn chiefly from the Republicans, were entreated by the Blaine followers to withdraw their candidate, Mr. St. John, from the field in Blaine's favor, but they refused to do so. Again, Blaine made serious blunders during the canvass. He made a tour through several states and, with his magnetic power over great crowds, he left a good impression. But on his return he made a stop in New York City, and this was fatal to his cause. Here he dined with a company of millionaires, and the Democrats paraded the fact before the public. A company of ministers called on him, and their spokesman, the Rev. Dr. Burchard, referred to the Democratic party as the party of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion," and the candidate offered no rebuke in his reply. This was eagerly seized on by the Democrats, as a denunciation of the Catholic Church, and in vain did Blaine deny all sympathy with the sentiment; and the Irish Catholic vote, which seemed to be gravitating toward him, was now turned to Cleveland.

New York was the pivotal state, and its vote was cast for Cleveland by a plurality of less than twelve hundred—and the long season of Republican supremacy was broken. Blaine's defeat was pathetic. For years he had hoped and labored for the great prize, and it seemed so near. Had he been elected, he would have made a strong President and, no doubt, an honest one. But he had a premonition that, like Henry Clay, he would never be President. And how

strangely similar seemed the defeat of Clay just forty years before. Clay had failed to obtain the nomination when his party was successful at the polls; and when he was chosen by the convention, he was defeated at the polls—and the same was true of Blaine. New York was the pivotal state in 1844 and also in 1884. Clay had lost that state and the nation through a little third party which held the balance of power, and so with Blaine. And yet there is one more item in this strange parallel: Clay and Blaine each seriously



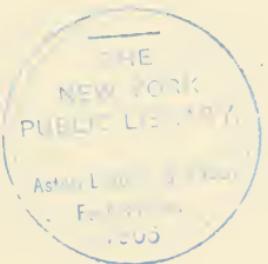
injured his own cause by writing ill-advised letters during the campaign.

Another element that entered into the defeat of Blaine was the attitude of his old enemy, Roscoe Conkling. Twice had Conkling prevented the nomination of Blaine in convention, and now when Blaine received it, Conkling could have secured his election; but the mighty Achilles sulked in his tent. His friends understood; they refused to support the



1819—THOMAS ANDREW HENDRICKS—1885.

From an original photograph by Mora, New York.



lifelong enemy of their idol and cast their votes for Cleveland. Had Conkling made a single speech, had he raised a finger in support of Blaine, in spite of the St. John vote, in spite of the Mugwump defection, in spite of the Burchard alliteration, the Empire State would have cast its vote for the magnetic statesman and he would have been elected.⁴² But Conkling remembered the insult of eighteen years before, the bitter denunciation on the floor of the House, the "grandiloquent swell," the "turkey-gobbler strut," and his high-poised soul could not forgive. He took his revenge, and Blaine never became President.

THE NEW CONDITIONS.⁴³

This campaign was one of unusual significance; it marked the restoration to power of the old party that Jefferson had founded, that had ruled the country for forty years without a break, that had sinned grievously and had suffered deeply. Now again the people had restored the old party to power—but only in part, for the Senate was still Republican, and from this cause party legislation was impossible and the first term of Cleveland, like the term of Hayes, was a season of quiet in the political world.

Viewed in another light, the party of Cleveland was not the old party of Jefferson, or of Jackson, or even of James Buchanan. A new era had dawned and had brought with it new ideals and new duties. Thousands who aided in the

⁴² The Republican defection in Conkling's home county alone was greater than Cleveland's majority in the state of New York.

⁴³ The remainder of this history will be given in a more condensed form, nor will a critical discussion of current public questions be attempted. Only the historian of the future will view the great issues of to-day in all their bearings, and be able to discuss them without partisan bias.

election of Cleveland had been born since the firing on Fort Sumter. The great body of American voters had grown to manhood since then. Old conditions had passed away with the old generation; the new conditions called for a new type of statesmanship, and in none was this embodied more than in the newly elected President. In his inaugural address he advised that the heat of the partisan be merged into the patriotism of the citizen. The Republicans took their defeat gracefully, and the people bravely turned their faces to the future.

Nothing so emphasized the friendly reunion of the states as the fact that two members of the new Cabinet, L. Q. C. Lamar and A. H. Garland, had been commanders in the Confederate armies. The fitness of these appointments was soon recognized by all. They did not signify, as a few radicals at first cried out, that "the South was again in the saddle," but rather that the old war spirit was dying and that the Southern states were again in spirit, as well as in fact, members of the happy sisterhood. Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware became secretary of state, and W. C. Whitney of New York, secretary of the navy.

Nothing could have been more fitting than that the first bill to which this new Democratic President placed his signature was an act restoring General Grant to the retired list of the army. The aged ex-President, in the hope of gaining a fortune, had engaged in business in the city of New York. The firm with which he was connected proved to be disreputable; the business came to an unhappy end, and, though the honor of the general was untouched, his modest savings were swept away in the crash. Moreover, Grant was suffering from an incurable disease, a cancer in the mouth, which baffled the skill of the physicians. The heart of the nation

went out in sympathy with the dying hero. He had been laboring faithfully on his "Memoirs," the story of his life, that his family might reap the benefit when he was gone. In the spring and early summer of 1885, the malady from which he suffered became alarming, but the general continued his writing with the same unwearied courage that he had displayed on the battle field. The end came on July 23, 1885, at Mt. McGregor, near Saratoga. The funeral pageant in New York City was the most imposing ever seen in America; and the body was laid to rest at Riverside Park, overlooking the Hudson.⁴⁴

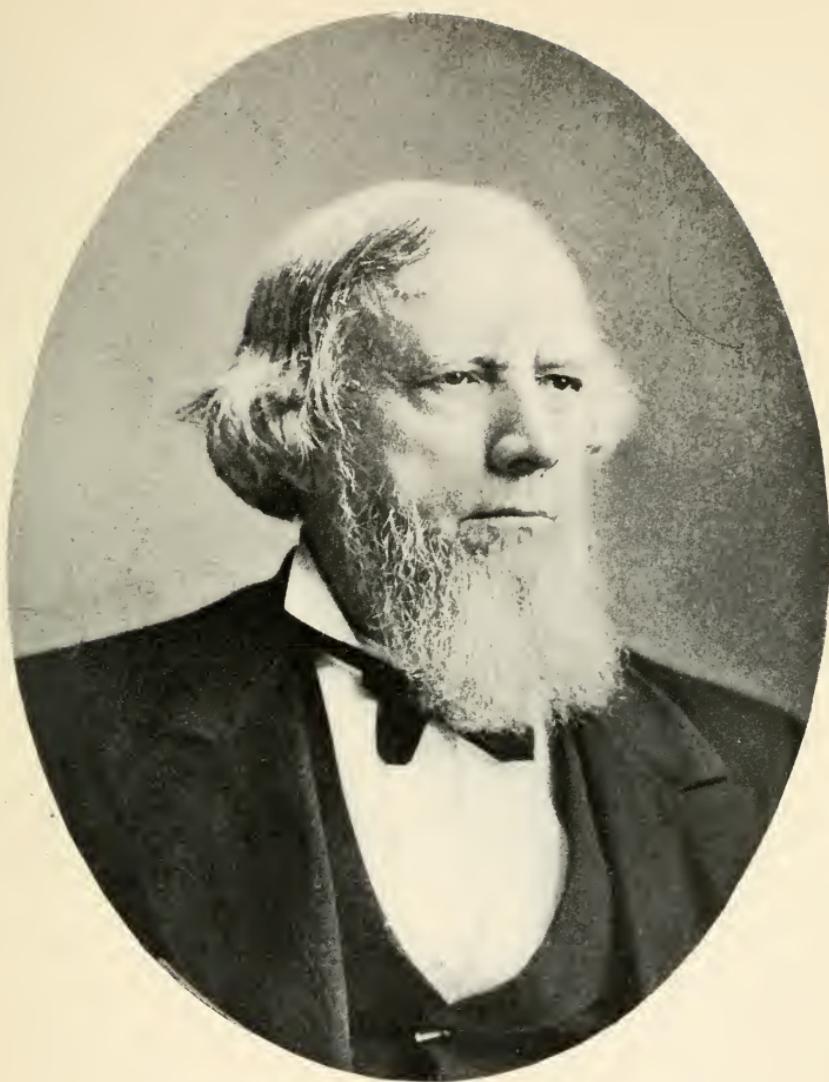
Cleveland proved himself a firm adherent of the principle of civil service reform. It is true that in a few years he had appointed many of his fellow partisans to office, as the statutory terms of the Republican incumbents expired. He also dismissed some for "offensive partisanship"; but he made no clean sweep, much to the dismay of the professional politicians of his party. The administration was not marked by any great question of public policy, but rather for its unbroken smoothness, and for the extraordinary strength in the personality of the President. The country soon learned that Cleveland was fully equal to the new duties before him, and that his conscience in dealing with national affairs was the same as that which characterized him at Buffalo and Albany.

For many years Congress had been in the habit of granting pensions to the old soldiers with little regard to merit. Mr. Cleveland took the ground that unless a soldier was dis-

⁴⁴ Grant's "Memoirs," in two volumes, is, from a literary point of view, the best of its kind in our American literature. The straightforward, unadorned narrative has a charm of simplicity and clearness that is very unusual. Mrs. Grant realized a large sum of money from the sale of the work, the first payment reaching \$200,000.

abled by the war he had no just claim to the support of the government. He vetoed scores of private pension bills, many of which were shown to be fraudulent. He also vetoed the Dependent Pension bill, which provided pensions for all who had served in the war ninety days or more and were now unable to do manual work; but a similar bill became a law in the next administration.

The most important measure, aside from the necessary legislation, to become a law in the first four years of Cleveland's incumbency was the Presidential Succession bill. As the law stood before, the president of the Senate, and after him the Speaker of the House, would succeed to the presidency in case of the death or disability of both the President and the Vice President. But such a succession might throw the government into the hands of a party that had been defeated at the polls by the people; or in case there was no Vice President and neither the Senate nor the House had chosen a presiding officer, there would be no one between the President and a legal lapse of the functions of the office. Such had been the condition for a time while Arthur was President, and the death of Vice President Hendricks in the autumn of 1885 again brought about the same condition. The death of Hendricks awakened Congress to a sense of the necessity of providing against the danger of a lapse and also of securing the presidency to the party that had carried the election. The Presidential Succession bill became a law on January 18, 1886. It provides that the line of succession run through the Cabinet in the following order: The secretaries of state, treasury, war, the attorney-general, the postmaster-general, the secretary of the navy, and the secretary of the interior. Any member of the Cabinet to be in the line must be eligible to the presidency. This



1813—ALLEN GRANBERY THURMAN—1895.

From an original photograph by C. M. Bell, Washington, D.C.

law settled a matter that had for a long period caused much anxiety.

In the following year (February, 1887) the Electoral Count law was enacted. This grew out of the disputed election of 1876. It provides that each state shall be its own judge concerning its electoral votes. But if through opposing tribunals a state is unable to decide, the matter must be settled by a joint resolution of the two houses of Congress.

Next came the Interstate Commerce Act, which became a law in February, 1887. For years the great railroads had discriminated against the small shippers by giving cheaper freight rates to the manufacturers and producers whose shipments were large. The most flagrant case in point was that of the Standard Oil Company, which, in 1872, merged with the Southern Improvement Company and bargained with the great railroads to have its products carried at from 25 per cent to 50 per cent less than that which was charged the small refiners. The result was that the small concerns could earn no dividends, and they were forced to sell out to the Standard at a great loss, and the Standard soon had a monopoly of the oil business.⁴⁵ The farmers of the West and manufacturers in every part of the country suffered greatly from this unfair discrimination by the railroad companies. The public demanded that Congress come to the rescue and stop the practice, and the result was the Interstate Commerce Act. By this act the railway companies were forbidden to make discriminations in freight rates or

⁴⁵ The chief movers in this conspiracy were John D. Rockefeller of Cleveland, W. G. Warden of Philadelphia, and O. T. Waring of Pittsburgh.

to enter into combinations for "pooling" and dividing their receipts.

Two other laws of considerable importance complete the series of this presidential term. One of these was an amendment to the Edmunds Anti-Polygamy law of 1882, by which the Mormon Church was dissolved as a corporate body and much of its property was confiscated. The other was the Anti-Chinese law, which has been mentioned on a preceding page.

The only foreign subject that seriously engaged the attention of this administration was that of the Canadian fisheries. This matter had been temporarily adjusted, as we have noticed, but as the United States deemed the settlement a disadvantageous one, it was canceled by President Cleveland. This left the old Treaty of 1818 again in operation, and the Canadians promptly put its worst features in force. They seized American vessels for landing at Canadian ports to purchase bait, to tranship fish, or for any purpose except for shelter, for repairs, or to obtain wood, water, and food. The old treaty had never before been literally interpreted, and now the complaints came thick and fast to Washington. A bill in Congress to close American ports to Canadian vessels was considered and lost. A new treaty was made with England, but the Senate killed it. Discretionary power was given the President to deal with the matter as he deemed best, and within a few years the affair was patched up so as to be fairly agreeable to both sides.

During the time we are treating the labor world again became agitated. An order known as the Knights of Labor, founded some fifteen years before, now made a sudden bound and its membership soon exceeded half a million men. It represented nearly all trades, and was governed by a na-

tional executive board which had power to order strikes and boycotts. The Knights of Labor was touched with anarchy, and ere long its disintegration began. The order, however, was not responsible for the fearful outbreak of anarchy in Chicago in May, 1886. For years a few immigrant anarchists had preached their detestable doctrines in American cities, and at last they seemed to have a following in Chicago. On the night of May 3, some fourteen hundred of the discontented gathered in Haymarket Square to hear the harangues of their leaders. A body of policemen was sent to disperse the crowd, when suddenly a bomb, thrown into their midst, exploded with terrific force, causing the death of six policemen and wounding many more. The whole country was shocked at the outrage. Chicago did its duty. It sent four of the leaders of the mob to the gallows and others to the penitentiary. This summary dealing, which was applauded by the great body of the people, gave a setback to the anarchists from which they have not recovered to this day.

THE TARIFF ISSUE

President Cleveland believed that much of the unrest in the labor world had its roots in the high protective tariff. From far back in Jackson's days the Democratic party had been a party of low tariff. The Civil War brought high impost duties; but the war was now long past, and yet the high duties were retained. In the early part of the century a protective tariff was demanded for the benefit of infant industries; but now, as such industries were beyond the need of government aid, protection was demanded on an entirely different ground—on the ground of maintaining the wages of the laboring man. But it was evident that the

laborer was not receiving his share of the benefit, that the manufacturer received more than the lion's share. So thought Grover Cleveland. And besides, there was another "condition" rather than a "theory" confronting the nation. The high tariff had caused a great surplus of money to be drawn from the channels of trade, only to be heaped up in the treasury at Washington. But the country was so wedded to a high tariff that not even the Democratic House had the courage to attack it. At last the party had a man at the helm whose courage seemed unlimited, and whose concern for his own political fortunes seemed to stand at zero.

In December, 1887, President Cleveland, without advice from his fellow party leaders, devoted his entire annual message to a denunciation of the high tariff laws and a call for their modification. As the writer doubtless foresaw, the message brought confusion to the ranks of his party, which was not prepared for such a positive declaration; and, as he probably expected, it cost him a reëlection to the presidency. But the message did exactly what it was intended to do—it made the issue for the coming election; it committed a great party, comprising half the nation, to the principle of moderate impost duties. The party haltingly followed its leader, but enough stragglers fell by the wayside to bring defeat instead of victory.

The Republicans took up the gage of battle that Cleveland had thrown down, and rejoiced at the opportunity. It is true that the famous message made all men think on the great subject of the tariff, and it won some Republicans. But the people were too devoted to a high tariff to consent on such short notice to abandon it. Mr. Blaine was still the Republican idol, and could have had the nomination of the party. But in the belief that he was fated never to be Presi-



1839—THOMAS BRACKETT REED—1902.

From an original photograph by Chickering, Boston, Mass.

dent, and in a moment of despondency, to which he was subject late in life, he positively refused to have his name considered. The convention chose Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, grandson of William Henry Harrison, who had been elected by the Whigs in 1840. For second place Levi P. Morton was chosen, while the Democrats selected Allen G. Thurman, the sturdy "Old Roman" of Ohio, as Cleveland's running mate.

Harrison was one of the ablest men in his party, but he was utterly wanting in the power to rouse popular enthusiasm. Cleveland in some measure also lacked this power. The campaign was clean, intellectual, and dignified. The chief issue was of course the tariff, and to emphasize this each party put forth a congressional tariff bill. The Mills bill, framed by Roger Q. Mills of Texas, passed the Democratic House in the summer of 1888. It was framed on the lines of the tariff message of Mr. Cleveland, who was now the undisputed master of his party. This bill was not only rejected by the Republican Senate; it was answered by a Senate bill proposing even higher duties than those then in force. Neither of these bills became law, nor was such a result looked for by their respective supporters. They were merely expressions of party policy.

Other political parties—the Prohibitionist, the Union Labor, the United Labor, and others—had candidates in the field; but these organizations had little influence on the battle of the giants. Mr. Harrison was elected, receiving 233 electoral votes to 168 for Cleveland, though his popular vote fell below that of Cleveland by about 110,000. Cleveland would have been elected but for the loss of the pivotal state of New York through the defection of Tammany Hall.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ David B. Hill, New York's Democratic candidate for governor

The Republicans also gained control of the House, and were now in position to carry out any party measure.

The success of the Republican party was now interpreted by its leaders as a mandate from the people to raise the duties on imports to a still higher point, and they proceeded forthwith to do so. The result was the McKinley Tariff Act, of 1890, named from its framer, Representative William McKinley of Ohio. By this law duties were raised to a point beyond any before known in our history,—to an average of above 50 per cent,—but its framers made one concession to the free traders by putting sugar on the free list.⁴⁷ This act did not by any means settle the great question.

IMPORTANT ACTS OF 1890

Mr. Harrison had made James G. Blaine secretary of state, and in no capacity in his long political career did the Maine statesman display his powers to greater advantage. The Republican House elected another Maine statesman as its Speaker, Thomas B. Reed, in some respects a stronger and more admirable character than Blaine. A practice of the minority in the House, almost from the beginning of the government, was to delay legislation which they did not favor, by making dilatory motions; but Speaker Reed put a stop to the practice by steadfastly refusing to recognize any member whose purpose was to obstruct business, how-

and the favorite of Tammany, was elected by nearly twenty-nine thousand majority, while Cleveland fell fourteen thousand short of carrying the state.

⁴⁷ Even the Democrats did not propose free trade by any means. The Mills bill was called a free trade measure by its enemies; but its average of duties, about 42 per cent, was higher than any tariff before the war.

ever loud he might shout. Another long-standing custom in the House was that a member was considered absent if he refused to answer to his name when the roll was called to ascertain whether there was a quorum present. Mr. Reed broke this custom by counting as present those who sat silent at the roll call. The protest that arose was fierce and threatening, but Reed, with quiet, inflexible courage, proceeded with the business of the House. The minority appealed to the Supreme Court, but Reed was sustained, and within a few years his innovation was adopted by both parties as the rule of the House.

One of the first efforts of the Republicans was to amend the election laws for the better protection of colored voters of the South. This bill, which the Democrats called the "Force Bill," and which they opposed with great bitterness, succeeded in passing the House; but it was defeated in the Senate, chiefly through the efforts of Senator Arthur P. Gorman of Maryland.

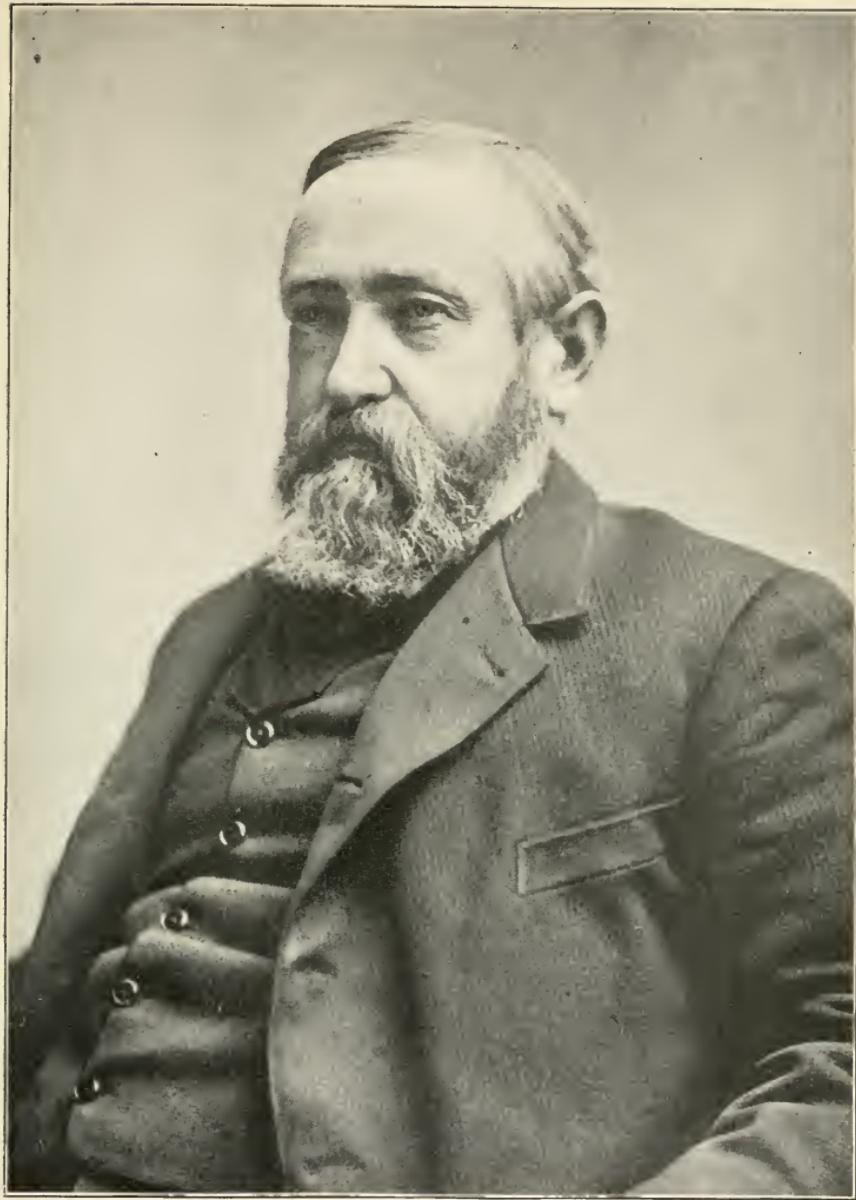
This session of Congress, however, enacted, in addition to the McKinley Tariff bill, no less than five or six important laws. The Republicans were less troubled about the surplus in the treasury than Cleveland had been. Instead of attempting to check the flow of money into the treasury, they devised plans to spend it. One of their first acts was to pass the Dependent Pension bill, very similar to the one Mr. Cleveland had vetoed. By this act Union soldiers and sailors who had served ninety days in the war were entitled to a pension, if they were from any cause unable to earn a living; and the benefits were extended to their widows, children, and dependent parents. There was at once a rush to secure pensions, and the lobbyists and pension "sharks" who infested the halls of Congress were no doubt enriched

more rapidly than the old veterans. In 1889 the annual pension outlay was \$89,000,000, and four years later it reached the enormous sum of \$158,000,000.

The pension law was passed in June; and the same month witnessed the passage of the Anti-Trust law under the title of "An act to protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies." For a decade there had been much popular protest against great combinations of capital for the purpose of preventing competition and of crushing out smaller concerns, and all the party platforms of 1888 called for legislation against such combinations. This law gave the courts the power to pronounce void any contract injurious to the public in cases brought to trial.⁴⁸

The following month, July, brought the famous Sherman Silver law. The Bland-Allison Act of 1878 had been a concession to the silver interests of the West. This desire for more money in circulation had found expression through the Greenback party, the Farmers' Alliance, and such organizations, and now it took the form of further demands on Congress for additional legislation favorable to a larger use of silver. Both the great political parties had stood for a sound and stable currency; but both were now willing to yield something to the popular demand, and the result was the enactment of the Sherman law, so named because Senator John Sherman of Ohio, the greatest financier in the country, was a member of the joint committee that framed it. The Senate, augmented by members from several newly admitted silver states in the West, was in favor of the free

⁴⁸ This law lay almost dormant for nearly fourteen years, when it was given great significance by a decision of the Federal Supreme Court (March 14, 1904) dissolving the Northern Securities Company, by which the two great railroads of the Northwest, the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific, had been brought under one management.



1833—BENJAMIN HARRISON—1901.

From an original photograph by C. M. Bell, Washington, D.C.

coinage of silver; but the House would not agree to this, and they compromised with the Sherman law. By this law the Bland-Allison Act, which provided that not less than \$2,000,000 or more than \$4,000,000 per month was to be coined, was repealed, and the purchase of four and a half million ounces of silver per month was ordered. The notes issued in payment for this bullion were to be redeemable in gold or silver; after July 1, 1891, the bullion should no longer be coined, except as it was needed to redeem treasury notes, and a ratio of sixteen to one in the coinage of silver and gold was fixed by law. The law provided also that for every gold dollar's worth of silver purchased an equivalent amount of legal tender treasury notes be issued. The attempt to keep up the price of silver by law resulted, like its predecessor of 1878, in failure; and a few years later the question rose again in far greater proportions, and became the leading issue in a presidential election.

Three other laws of considerable importance were enacted within the year 1890. One of these was known as the Original Package law. Some of the states had passed stringent anti-liquor laws, but these laws were evaded by persons who purchased liquor in the original package in other states, and, bringing it into a state having anti-liquor laws, sold it under the protection of the Inter-state Commerce Act of 1887. The Supreme Court sustained this practice; whereupon Congress enacted the Original Package law, by which packages thus brought within a state were subject to the local laws of that state. Another was the Anti-Lottery law, which excluded lottery tickets and circulars from the mails of the United States. This was a deathblow to the Louisiana Lottery, which, in spite of many state laws to the contrary, had for many years done a large business in all the

states through the mail. A third was a law forfeiting public land grants made to various railroad corporations. Many of these companies had not built their proposed roads and were simply holding their land grants as investments; but an act of September, 1890, added again to the public domain many millions of acres which had been granted to the corporations.

The years 1889 and 1890 brought into the Union six new states in the West. The population had moved westward across the vast prairies of the middle West, and up the slopes to the towering heights of the Rocky Mountains; people on the Pacific Coast had been moving eastward. There was no longer a frontier; the population had embraced the continent. It is true that these western settlements, composed of mining towns among the mountains, of cattle ranches along the slopes, with here and there an agricultural community, were sparse as compared with those of the East; but the extent of the various territories was so vast that the population as a whole was very considerable. Four new states—North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington—were admitted to the Union in 1889, and two—Idaho and Wyoming—the following year. The admission of the last-named states brought prominently before the country the long-discussed subject of woman's suffrage, as in both of them the right to vote and hold office was given to women.⁴⁹

The territory of Oklahoma, a portion of the Indian Territory, the title of which had been secured from the Indians in 1866—on the condition, however, that only freedmen and

⁴⁹ In four western states—Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming—women have the right to vote and to hold office. In more than twenty other states woman suffrage is recognized in some form, as in municipal elections, school suffrage, and the like.

civilized Indians occupy the land—was now opened to white settlers. Owing to the pressure of the “boomers” Congress set apart \$4,000,000 to remove these conditions, and by a proclamation of the President the land was thrown open to white settlers at noon on April 22, 1889. Fifty thousand people waited on the boundary line for the bugle call to proclaim the hour. When the call was heard, there was a wild rush to possess the land. Many were successful in staking off choice lots or farms, but the demand was greater than the supply, and thousands failed to realize their golden dreams. Cities were staked out and city governments were organized before the evening of the first day. A census of that year showed that the population of Oklahoma exceeded sixty thousand.

The addition of new states in the West had much to do with the passage of the Sherman Silver law, and these states played some part in the political upheaval of the same year. The congressional elections of 1890 resulted in a great victory for the Democrats. The Republican majority of about twenty in the House was replaced by a Democratic majority of nearly one hundred and fifty. The chief issue was the McKinley Tariff. This tariff had been in force but a few weeks at the time of the election, and the test was not a fair one; but the prices of commodities had suddenly risen, and the people were distrustful of the future. One of the surprises of this campaign was the strength shown by the People’s party, or “Populists,” the legitimate heirs of the Greenback party and the Farmers’ Alliance. The strength of this third party came almost wholly from the South and West, where the spirit of unrest had reigned for several years. The party elected eighteen members to the House, controlled seven senatorial elections, and chose the governors

in Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, and South Dakota. With the House thus in the hands of their enemies, the Republicans could no longer enact party measures, and the administration dragged listlessly along.

In our foreign relations the Harrison administration was marked by several items of interest. One arose from the violent killing of eleven Italians, or Sicilians, by a mob in New Orleans. There existed in that city a secret, oath-bound, murderous society known as the "Maffia." The chief of police, David C. Hennessy, who was very active in running down these criminals, was treacherously assassinated, and these eleven men were put on trial for the crime. There was little doubt of their guilt; but the jury failed to convict them. At this miscarriage of justice the people of the city rose in anger and excitement; a great crowd marched to the jail, battered down the door, seized the prisoners, and put them to death. Eight of the slain men were naturalized Americans; but three proved to be subjects of the King of Italy, who promptly demanded redress for the outrage. After a long diplomatic correspondence the king's ultimatum, that indemnity be paid the families of the dead Italians and that their slayers be punished, was declined by Secretary Blaine, on the ground that the state of Louisiana, and not the United States government, had jurisdiction in the matter. The United States, however, agreed to pay \$25,000 indemnity; the Italian king accepted this offer, and the matter was thus amicably settled.

Early in 1889 the world's attention was directed to the far-away group of islands in the south Pacific known as Samoa. The United States had made a treaty of friendship with the Samoans in 1878. For a long period civil war raged in the islands; and at length, in 1889, the United

States, Great Britain, and Germany, each of which had a small fleet in the harbor, agreed to establish a protectorate, and decided to restore the deposed king. In March of the same year a terrific hurricane broke upon the islands and most of the American and German war ships, together with all the merchant vessels in the harbor, fifteen in number, were destroyed.

By anticipation this subject may here be disposed of by stating that in 1899 this agreement of the three powers was rescinded. Great Britain gave up all claims in Samoa for some other islands in the Orient, while the United States and Germany agreed to a division of Samoa. Upolu and other islands west of 171 degrees west longitude fell to Germany, while Tutuila and the other islands east of 171 degrees became a possession of the United States.

A diplomatic dispute with Chile, South America, absorbed public attention in the autumn of 1891. That country, as is common in South America, was in the throes of insurrection; and the insurgents, believing that our minister, Mr. Egan, sympathized with their opponents, conceived a dislike for him and all Americans. The United States cruiser *Baltimore* was lying in the harbor of Valparaiso in October, 1891. While her crew were on shore leave, they were attacked by the populace of the city and had to run for their lives. Most of them escaped to their ship; but two were killed and many were wounded with knives and clubs. For a time it seemed that war with the little republic would result, for the Chilean government treated the matter lightly; but when the United States made a demand for redress, Chile humbly receded from her position and paid \$75,000 to atone for the outrage.

A long-standing diplomatic dispute with the British gov-

ernment over the seal fisheries in the Bering Sea reached an acute stage in 1892. Before 1867 Russia had owned Alaska and had exercised exclusive rights in the Bering Sea. When we came into possession of Alaska, our government laid claim to the full control of the sea, as the Russian government had done; our motive being to protect the seals from extermination. England denied our exclusive right beyond the three-mile shore line. But in 1892 the two governments agreed to a treaty which provided for arbitration. Meantime a tribunal of temporary arbitration met in Paris, the United States, England, France, Italy, and Sweden being represented. This tribunal decided in favor of Great Britain; namely, that our possession of Alaska did not warrant our closing the Bering Sea to the world. The British government, however, agreed to coöperate with the United States in saving the seals from extermination, and thus the matter was for the time allowed to rest.

THE ELECTION OF 1892

President Harrison was not popular with his party. A man of unquestioned integrity and ability, he was wanting in the powers of leadership, in personal magnetism, and the leaders of his party found it impossible to get into his confidence. And yet, as the policies of the party were the same as four years before and as Mr. Harrison was in full sympathy with those policies, he was the logical candidate for renomination. His secretary of state, Mr. Blaine, was still the popular choice of the party, but there had long been a feeling among the people that a Cabinet official should not become a candidate for the presidency in opposition to his chief. But all was not harmonious between the President and Mr. Blaine, and only three days before the meeting of

the Republican convention in Minneapolis, Blaine petulantly resigned from the Cabinet and permitted his name to go before the convention. It was too late, however, as many of the delegates were pledged to Harrison and he was nominated on the first ballot. As it was, Blaine received 132 votes, and had his break with the President come a few months sooner, nothing could have prevented his nomination. Mr. Whitelaw Reid, editor of the *New York Tribune*, was named for Vice President. Blaine soon became reconciled, and used his efforts to reëlect Harrison.

The Democrats met a few weeks later in Chicago and nominated Grover Cleveland and Adlai E. Stevenson.

Cleveland was opposed by many delegates from the South and West who favored free silver, and by the delegation from his own state of New York. But the great masses of the party favored him, and in spite of a written protest signed by every delegate from New York, he was nominated on the first ballot. The platform denounced the McKinley Tariff, the Sherman Act, trusts and combinations, and advocated both gold and silver; while the Republican platform upheld the McKinley Tariff, pronounced for the rural free delivery of mail, and for a Nicaragua Canal, and on the coinage question took a position similar to that of the Democrats. Both parties favored national aid to the Columbian Exposition soon to be held at Chicago.

The third party of this year was the most formidable since 1860. It was known as the People's party, and was composed chiefly of farmers and laborers to whom the free coinage of silver at the rate of 16 to 1 had presented itself as the panacea for nearly every national ill. Its platform pronounced also for a graduated income tax, and for national ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones,

and for the creation of postal savings banks. The party met in convention at Omaha in July, and nominated General James B. Weaver and James G. Field. The Prohibitionists nominated John Bidwell and J. B. Cranfill, and pronounced against trusts, mob-law, and the alien ownership of land. The Socialistic Labor party nominated Simon Wing of Massachusetts for President.

The canvass was one of great interest, the chief issue being the McKinley tariff. There was one other question, that of the free coinage of silver, which threatened for a time to become paramount in this campaign. The Sherman law of 1890 had failed to arrest the steady decline in the price of silver, and the friends of the white metal now clamored for free coinage. This free-coinage movement swept rapidly over the West and South, and had many adherents in the East. It carried with it many thousands of Republicans, a greater number of Democrats, and the entire body of Populists. The Democrats would doubtless have headed off the Populists and made free silver their leading issue, but for one insurmountable obstacle—the attitude of Grover Cleveland. In February, 1891, when the party was on the verge of committing itself to free silver, Cleveland had written his "Cooper Union letter," pronouncing against free coinage. His friends had urged him not to commit himself on the great question at that time, as by so doing he would endanger his nomination; but with the reckless courage that had always characterized him, he made his views public. The millions of advocates of free coinage were stunned and angered at this letter of Cleveland, the only real leader of the party in the past seven years; but they were forced to decide between the issue and the man. So great was the popularity of Cleveland with the masses, and so urgent the call for his nomination in 1892, that the silver

leaders accepted him sullenly and suffered their pet issue to remain in the background. Hence the tariff became the great issue in the campaign.

The Republicans were on the defensive in 1892. Mr. Cleveland had won the masses, if not the leaders, in his party, while Mr. Harrison had won neither in his. Moreover, Harrison had quarreled with Blaine at the moment of his nomination. But the chief cause of his defeat was the McKinley Tariff. This tariff had raised prices of commodities, but not the wages of labor, and the Democrats were diligent in attributing to it greater evils than it brought. Its advantage to the manufacturer could not be questioned, but there was a widespread belief that the laborer was not receiving his share of the benefits. During the months of the campaign outbreaks between capital and labor occurred in various states, the most serious of these being at Homestead, Pennsylvania, a town near Pittsburg, between the Carnegie Steel Company and its workmen.

All these labor troubles militated against the Republican party in 1892, since the party in power, guilty or not guilty, must bear the blame for public disorders. The result was a great victory for Cleveland, who thus became our first President to be elected to a second term that was not consecutive with the first. So great had been the silver wave in the West that the Democrats named no electoral tickets in Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming, North Dakota, and Kansas, and most of these states were carried by Weaver. Cleveland received 277 electoral votes, to 145 for Harrison, and 22 for Weaver.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ The popular vote stood: for Cleveland, 5,556,533; for Harrison, 5,175,577; for Weaver, 1,122,045; for Bidwell, 279,191; and for Wing, 21,191. The House and the Senate were both Democratic by large majorities.

NOTES

The Australian Ballot.—For many years public opinion had been awakening to the fact that many elections were fraudulently carried on by the professional politicians. In 1888 the legislature of Massachusetts adopted a method of balloting, borrowed from Australia, which is known as the Australian system. Many other states followed the example of Massachusetts, until most if not all the states in the Union had adopted the new system. Its chief feature is that each voter receives an official ballot from the election officers, on which are printed the names of the candidates of all parties. With this he enters alone an election booth, and, in private, marks the names of the men for whom he wishes to vote, after which he folds the ballot, and returns it to the officers. The system has greatly aided in securing honest elections, but it has by no means removed all the evils. The most serious defect remaining is probably found in our method of choosing party candidates for local and state offices. By this method the party "boss" is usually able to name the party candidate without consulting the party, and this is most detrimental to the securing of honest men to fill the offices.

Inventions.—This period is also marked by the coming into practical operation of various useful inventions. The telephone, invented simultaneously by Elisha Gray of Chicago and Alexander Bell of Boston, both of whom applied for a patent on the same day, and almost the same hour, came into practical use about 1876. Since then hundreds of thousands of miles of telephone lines have been constructed, and conversation can easily be carried on between New York and Chicago, and even between cities still further apart. Few inventions have added more to the comfort and the business facilities of modern life than has the telephone. The electric light, invented by Brush and Edison, and many electrical appliances, are also the product of this post-bellum period.

Among the engineering achievements of the time, the most notable are the Brooklyn Bridge, the great suspension bridge that spans East River between New York and Brooklyn; the New York elevated railway, and the "jetty system" for deepening the channel at the mouth of the Mississippi River. A word further must be said of this last-mentioned work. As the current of the great river becomes more sluggish near its mouth, great quantities of mud are deposited, and the channel becomes so shallow as to impede shipping. Captain James B. Eads proposed the jetty system, long in use in Europe, by which the

river is made narrower, and the current deeper and swifter. In 1875 Congress made an appropriation, and Captain Eads began the work. It was completed in four years and has been eminently successful. The channel was made deep enough to float the largest ocean steamers to New Orleans, and the advantage to that city and to the whole country is very great.

In 1878 was established the government life-saving service. Such establishments had, in various parts of the world, been maintained by individuals, and in the United States, in a limited and local way, before this date. But by this act of 1878 the service was made general, and was placed as a subdivision in the treasury department. It is the first instance in the world of a life-saving service established and carried on wholly as a governmental institution.

Exploring the Arctic Seas.—The first of the voyages in quest of the North Pole was fitted out by James Gordon Bennett, proprietor of the *New York Herald*, and was commanded by Lieutenant De Long. In the little steamer *Jeannette*, De Long with a company of thirty men, left San Francisco in July, 1879. For two years the party battled with the frigid climate, when their little vessel, after being locked in the ice for many months, became a total wreck. After a dreadful journey of six hundred miles the party reached the coast of Siberia near the mouth of the Lena River. But relief was still far away, and the men perished from hunger and cold before succor could reach them. The bodies were recovered, and the diary of De Long, kept to the day of his death, told of the awful sufferings of himself and his party. In 1881 Lieutenant A. W. Greely of the United States army led an expedition of about twenty-five men to the far North at government expense. He established a post at a point $81^{\circ} 44'$ north, farther than any point before attained. Nothing was heard of the party until July, 1884, when a relief party, under Commander W. S. Schley, found and rescued those who survived. Greely and six of his men alone were left alive. Since then Lieutenant Peary and others have made brave efforts to reach the pole, but without success.

CHAPTER XXXIX

WAR AND EXPANSION

GROVER CLEVELAND was inaugurated President for the second time on the 4th of March, 1893.

The Cabinet was a personal rather than a political one; with two or three exceptions its members were in no sense party leaders. For secretary of state the President chose Walter Q. Gresham, a former member of the Cabinet of Arthur and a lifelong Republican until the campaign of 1892. John G. Carlisle of Kentucky became secretary of the treasury; Daniel S. Lamont, secretary of war; Richard Olney, attorney-general; William S. Bissell, postmaster-general; H. A. Herbert, secretary of the navy; Hoke Smith, secretary of the interior; and J. S. Morton, secretary of agriculture.

HAWAII, SILVER, AND THE WILSON TARIFF

The first important act after his inauguration was the withdrawal by Mr. Cleveland of a treaty to annex the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, which had been sent to the Senate by Mr. Harrison. Hawaii was a tiny independent monarchy in the Pacific Ocean some 2100 miles west of San Francisco, and the reigning queen was Liliuokalani. But the monarchy had long been tottering, and at length, in January, 1893, a party of revolutionists, chiefly Americans or the descendants of Americans, rose against the government, deposed the queen, and set up a provisional



1837 — GROVER CLEVELAND.

1903.

From an original photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

government with Sanford B. Dole as president. The cause of the uprising was an attempt of the queen to set aside the new constitution, adopted in 1887, and to restore the old one, by which the Americans and other foreigners residing on the islands would be deprived of their right to participate in the government. The revolution was approved by the minister from the United States, John L. Stevens, and through him Mr. Dole requested the United States to assume a protectorate over the islands. On the 1st of February the American flag was raised over the government building at Honolulu. A treaty of annexation to the United States was drafted and sent by special messengers to Washington. Almost the entire American public, including President Harrison, favored annexing the islands in spite of the protests of the agents of the deposed queen, who had also reached Washington. Accordingly, on February 15th the President submitted the treaty to the Senate, but before that body could act he went out of office.⁵¹

Mr. Cleveland, who now became President, had ideas of his own. Without the slightest regard for public sentiment, he withdrew the treaty from the Senate and sent a commissioner to Honolulu to investigate, and, on learning the facts, he sent another minister to supersede Stevens and to haul down the American flag. Cleveland acted on the old American principle, as he claimed, that we have no right to assume the government over a people without their consent, and this he declared had not been obtained. He even offered to restore Queen Liliuokalani to her throne if she would prom-

⁵¹ The treaty provided among other things that the United States should assume the Hawaiian debt, some \$3,250,000, should pay the deposed queen \$20,000 a year, and allow the heiress-presumptive, Princess Koiulani, the lump sum of \$150,000.

ise amnesty to those who had dethroned her. But this she would not do; and the government, under President Dole, continued and became stronger, and Mr. Cleveland recognized the islands as a constitutional republic. At length, however (July 7, 1898), when the Cleveland administration had been succeeded by another, the Hawaiian Islands were formally annexed to the United States by a joint resolution of Congress, as in the case of Texas.⁵²

Scarcely had this administration come in when the finances of the country became greatly disturbed. The conditions of panic had been accumulating for many months, and a panic now seemed ready to break upon the country. There were about five hundred million dollars in currency notes outstanding and redeemable in gold; but when once redeemed, they were not canceled. The law directed that they be reissued, and thus an endless chain prevented the government from protecting its gold reserve. In addition to this the government was obliged by the Sherman Silver law to purchase four and a half million ounces of silver per month and to pay for it in notes redeemable in gold. The gold reserve had almost reached the danger limit of a hundred million dollars. President Cleveland believed with the majority that the repeal of the Sherman law would help to relieve the situation, and for this purpose he called an extra session of Congress to meet on August 7, 1893.

In Congress, especially in the Senate, there was great opposition to the repeal. The House was dominated by the great states of the East, and in that body a motion to repeal the act was soon passed by a good majority composed of

⁵² The Hawaiian group comprises about 6,640 square miles. The population in 1896 was 109,000. As a naval station the islands are of great importance to the United States.

both parties. But in the Senate, where the sparsely settled mining states of the West had the same voting power as the populous states, the House bill was held up for many weeks. Meantime great commotion reigned throughout the country, and for once President Cleveland played the politician. He withheld the patronage from the opposing senators; he brought all the force of the presidential office to bear upon the matter in his determination to have the Sherman law repealed. And at last, on November 1, after a long and exciting session, the Senate yielded and the silver-purchasing clause of the act of 1890 was repealed; but further legislation, as recommended by the President for the purpose of maintaining the gold reserve, which had now fallen to \$80,000,000, was not secured.

It was too late, however, to avert the coming panic. The business of the country was unsettled, and the industrial depression that followed, covering several years, was one of the most disastrous in our history. Many for political purposes, and others through sheer ignorance, blamed the Democratic party entirely for the "hard times," and in this the Democrats suffered only what they had heaped upon the Republicans twenty years before. The panic of 1893, which had been gathering for many months before Cleveland's term began, was the resultant of many convergent forces—the financial conditions, the hoarding of gold by the people, the uncertainty about silver, overproduction, and of others which elude the pen of the economist.

At such a moment it was doubtless unwise for the Democrats to attempt a revision of the tariff; but on the tariff they had carried the election, and they were prompt to carry out their pledges. Mr. William L. Wilson of West Virginia, chairman of the committee of ways and means, brought a

tariff bill into the House early in the regular session. This became known as the Wilson bill. It passed the House in February, 1894, and went to the Senate. The bill placed raw materials for the most part on the free list, as also coal and sugar, and made many of the duties *ad valorem* instead of specific. In the Senate the bill was subjected to drastic treatment. A few Democrats, led by Senator Gorman, determined to change the bill, and so great were the alterations made that it could scarcely be recognized as the same that had passed the House. Henceforth it was called the Wilson-Gorman Tariff. The Senate took coal and iron from the free list, placed a schedule of duties on sugar, and raised them on many other things; it also changed *ad valorem* to specific duties. The House bill had reduced the average duties of the McKinley Tariff, which had been about 50 per cent, to about 35 per cent; but the Senate bill raised them to about 37 per cent. The House reluctantly accepted the Senate bill because no better was attainable, and it was sent to the President on August 13, 1894. Mr. Cleveland was so displeased with the Senate changes that he refused to sign the measure; but, believing it an improvement over the McKinley bill, he could not veto it, and it became a law without his signature.

This tariff measure carried with it a provision for an income tax, which, however, was pronounced unconstitutional the following May by the United States Supreme Court.⁵³

THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

Four hundred years had passed since the discovery of the New World by Columbus. In that period the transforma-

⁵³ This was a reversal of a former decision in favor of the income tax.

tion had been the most remarkable in history, and it was fitting now that the one great nation of the Western Hemisphere, with its vast wealth and its boundless resources, take the lead in celebrating the discovery of Columbus. It was decided that the celebration take the form of a gigantic exposition, and the prize was awarded to Chicago; but as it was found impossible to make adequate preparation for holding the fair on the anniversary of the discovery by Columbus, the following year, 1893, was chosen in its stead. The site chosen was Jackson Park, an unimproved pleasure ground on the lake front near Chicago. The ground was intersected with marshy inlets and lagoons; but these were transformed by the hand of art into canals and lakelets bounded by walls and lawns, until the park presented the beauty of a fairy land.

The expense of the exposition was enormous. The cost of preparing the grounds and erecting the buildings aggregated nearly \$20,000,000, raised chiefly by the citizens of Chicago, by a five-million loan by the city, and by a gift of the government of nearly two millions in the form of half dollars, coined for the purpose with a special design. The government expended also \$2,250,000 for a building of its own, foreign countries expended some six millions, and the several states over seven millions. Thus the grand total reached thirty-five millions, and if to this be added the expense of private exhibitors, the cost of the great exposition footed up the enormous total of nearly \$40,000,000.

No attempt can be made to describe the buildings of the "White City," as the exposition came to be called. Most of them were composed of an iron framework covered with "staff," a composition that resembles white marble. The principal buildings, grouped around the Court of Honor,

with its glittering lake, its stately colonnades, and its luxuriant foliage, presented a scene of splendor and magnificence that led the beholder to feel that he was in dreamland.

The largest of the buildings, covering forty-four acres, was devoted to manufactures and liberal arts. The government building, with its octagonal gilded dome, was probably the most ornate and impressive of them all. Around these were grouped the agricultural building, the woman's building, machinery hall, buildings devoted to art, fisheries, mining, transportation, electricity, and others. The art building, Ionic in style, was probably the most perfect in grace of design on the grounds, and the treasures within it represented the choicest of public and private collections in Europe and America. In the building devoted to the work of women was exhibited, as never before, the great part that woman has played in the growth of modern civilization.

The exhibits of the great fair were bewildering in their attractiveness and their numbers. Never before in the world's history had such a collection of the products of art, science, and manufactures been made. It seemed that nothing was wanting of the best that the world could give from every nation and every clime. The Centennial Exhibition of 1876 had appealed chiefly to the artistic and the sentimental; the World's Columbian Exposition, while equally artistic and far more extensive, aimed chiefly to show the progress of the human race during the preceding four hundred years. For example, in the transportation building were exhibited the old Conestoga wagon and the stagecoach of a hundred and fifty years ago, side by side with the best-equipped modern locomotive. So in many exhibits the old and the new were contrasted in such a way as to present most



1843—WILLIAM McKINLEY—1901.

1900.

From an original photograph by C. Parker, Washington, D.C.

strikingly to the eye the wonderful progress of modern times.

The great exposition was open from the 1st of May to the 31st of October, 179 days, during which the paid admissions were 22,477,212. The receipts from all sources reached nearly \$15,000,000, while more than 23,000 medals were awarded to exhibitors. After the close of the exposition the problem arose as to what should be the disposal of the buildings, but the problem was solved when fire broke out in the grounds and most of the gorgeous structures of the White City were laid in ashes. Thus ended the American dream of 1893, and the people awoke to the endless duties of practical life.

In the autumn of 1895, two years after the close of the exposition at Chicago, another one of a similar character, but on a much smaller scale, was opened at Atlanta, Georgia. The site was Piedmont Park, where, thirty-one years before, Sherman had planted his guns to shell the city of Atlanta. The main object of this exposition was to reveal the vast industrial possibilities of the South. Nothing is more striking in the industrial world than the progress made by that section since the days of reconstruction. In the year 1899 the South produced nearly 11,000,000 bales of cotton, 10,000,000,000 feet of lumber, and 750,000,000 bushels of grain. A thousand million dollars had been invested in manufacturing.⁵⁴ The cotton mills now run more than 5,000,000 spindles, and great iron furnaces equipped with the latest machinery are springing up in nearly every southern state. The southern mines of zinc, lead, pyrites, salt, manganese, and valuable clays are inexhaustible, and in

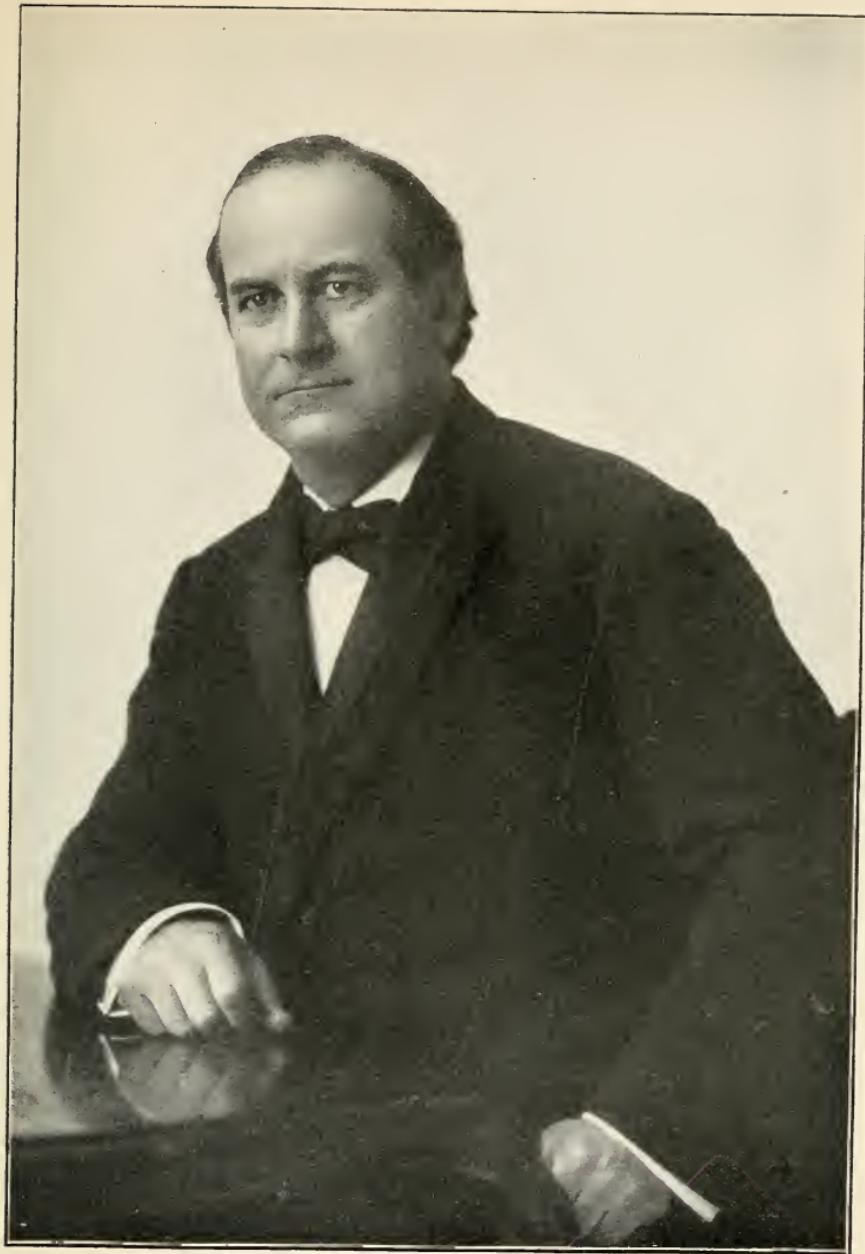
⁵⁴ *The Manufacturer's Record*, December, 1899. Our cotton exports for 1903 reached 3,622,000,000 pounds.

recent years great deposits of petroleum have been discovered in Texas. Since the Civil War the energies of the South, after long slumbering under a false system of labor, have sprung into life, and the achievements of the present are excelled only by the promises for the future.

TWO UNUSUAL OCCURRENCES

Twice had President Cleveland startled the country with his great decision of character, and his singular power in taking the initiative on great questions without taking counsel with his party—in issuing his tariff message in 1887, and in withdrawing the Hawaiian Treaty in 1893. Twice more was he to do the same thing. In May, 1894, a formidable strike of the employees of the Pullman Car Company, of Chicago, took place, and in their violent efforts to prevent the cars from being used on the railways great damage was threatened. The governor of Illinois, John P. Altgeld, sympathized with the strikers, and made no effort to quell the disturbance. Thereupon President Cleveland, of his own motion, sent national troops to put down the riot. The Constitution makes no express provision for such an act on the part of the President, except when the government of the state in which a riot occurs calls for national assistance. President Cleveland was severely criticised for his action and an acrimonious controversy ensued between him and Governor Altgeld. The President justified his action on the ground that the rioters were interfering with the mails and with interstate commerce, both of which it was his duty to protect.

The second of these events was the most thrilling the country had experienced in many a year. The British government had for more than half a century been disputing



1865 — WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

1905.

From an original photograph by Townsend, Lincoln, Neb.

with Venezuela concerning the boundary between that country and British Guiana. Again and again had Venezuela offered to leave the matter to arbitration, and the United States had urged that the dispute be settled in that way. But the British refused, nor did they propose any method by which a settlement could be reached. In the summer of 1895 Mr. Richard Olney, the secretary of state, informed Lord Salisbury, the British Premier, that in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine, the United States must insist on arbitration. Lord Salisbury replied by a flat refusal, and a declaration that he did not accept the Monroe Doctrine. Then it was, on December 17, that President Cleveland, in the belief that the Monroe Doctrine was about to be violated, startled the world with his vigorous message to Congress. In this message he declared that the time-honored doctrine "was intended to apply to every stage of our national life," that as Great Britain had refused for many years to submit the dispute to impartial arbitration, nothing remained to us "but to accept the situation." He then proposed that a commission be appointed to determine the rightful boundary between the two countries, and asked that Congress vote money to defray its expenses. The message further declared that in case the disputed territory was found to belong to Venezuela, it would be the duty of the United States "to resist by every means in its power" the aggressions of Great Britain, the appropriation of lands that are determined of right to belong to Venezuela.

The country and the world were thrilled at the suddenness, the positive tone, of the message. Still more striking was the unanimity of the support given it. Congress forgot its party differences and voted without division or debate \$100,000 to defray the expenses of the commission to be

appointed. It seemed for a time that the war cloud was lowering over the two great kindred nations; but Lord Salisbury receded from his position, the boundary dispute was settled by arbitration, and the people on both sides of the sea rejoiced, for they had escaped a calamity the extent of which no man could have measured.⁵⁵

THE SILVER ISSUE

As the presidential election of 1896 drew near, it became evident that the free coinage of silver would become the chief issue. The mining interests of the West were greatly crippled by the steady fall in the price of silver, and the blame for this was laid chiefly on the repeal of the Sherman law. But there were other causes. In 1873 Germany had demonetized the white metal and had made gold the sole standard. Norway, Sweden, and Denmark immediately followed the example of Germany, and a great quantity of bullion from their melted coin was thrown upon the market. In 1878 the Latin Union closed their mints to free coinage, and Russia suspended silver coinage in 1879. In addition to all this, the world's annual production of silver

⁵⁵ The result of the arbitration was decidedly favorable to the English claim, on the ground that fifty years' actual possession of a district constitutes a national title. One result of this episode was the establishing of the Monroe Doctrine more firmly than ever. It is also asserted that the message of President Cleveland, whose authority was coördinate with that of Monroe, extended the original meaning of the doctrine, pronouncing it at the same time a permanent policy of the United States.

Other notable events of this administration were an order in May, 1895, bringing thirty thousand more places within the Civil Service law, making eighty-five thousand in all, and the framing and signing of a general arbitration treaty between the United States and Great Britain, January, 1897. This most desirable treaty, however, failed to receive the requisite number of votes in the Senate, and it fell to the ground.



1837 — GEORGE DEWEY.

1904.

From an original photograph by L. C. Handy, Washington, D.C.

more than doubled in the twenty years preceding the repeal of the Sherman law.

As we have noticed, the administration was launched in the midst of an incipient panic. Failures in business began to multiply, and in addition to the financial and industrial depression, the crops of the West were short for several years. Many kinds of business were suspended, and armies of unemployed men walked the streets of the cities.⁵⁶ The gold reserve in the treasury ran dangerously low; and to replenish it, bonds to the extent of \$263,000,000 were sold. Vast numbers of men believed that the government's treatment of silver was the chief cause of the distress, and that free coinage would be the cure. These men heartily disliked Cleveland because he was an enemy of free coinage.

During this whole term the President and his party drifted steadily apart. But the silver question was not the sole cause of this. Cleveland exercised little tact in holding his party together. For his great courage and ability, for his independent character, his unswerving rule making principle the standard of action, for his abhorrence of demagogery in every form—for all these President Cleveland must be admired by all honest people. But in a country governed by parties, party leadership and unity of party action are necessary in carrying out great measures. Herein lay Cleveland's great weakness. He seemed to believe that a President should be non-partisan in serving the whole people; he took little counsel with his party leaders, forgetting apparently that it was a party, and not the whole people,

⁵⁶ In the spring of 1804, one Coxey of Ohio marched to Washington with a rabble of several hundred men, called the "Army of the Commonweal," to demand that Congress issue \$500,000,000 in greenbacks to be expended in public works for the benefit of the unemployed.

that made him President, and that for future usefulness the party needed guidance and leadership. Thus one of the most able and honest of American Presidents found himself almost without a party—chiefly through his own want of tact.

At the beginning of 1896 it was certain that one of the great parties would pronounce for free silver, but which it would be was uncertain, for both were swarming with the friends of silver. At length the Republicans began to drift toward the gold standard, and the Democrats took the opposite course. The Republican convention met in June at St. Louis. For months before the meeting, it seemed evident that Mr. William McKinley of Ohio would be the choice of the convention. He had been a friend of free coinage in former years, and many now called on him to express himself on the great issue; but he refused to reveal his convictions, if he had any, stating that he would stand on the platform of the party if nominated. He received the nomination with little opposition, and Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey was chosen as his running mate.

William McKinley, like many of our public men, had risen by his own industry and strength of character from the lower walks of life. Valiantly he had served his country in the Civil War. Fourteen years he had served in the Lower house of Congress, had become a commanding figure in that body, and was the chief framer of the tariff bill that bore his name. He was twice elected governor of Ohio, and had for some years been looked upon as a coming candidate for the presidency. No Republican in the country had shown greater powers as a party leader than had Mr. McKinley. The platform on which he now stood pronounced for



1839—NELSON APPLETON MILES.

From an original photograph.

the gold standard, unless the silver standard could be adopted in conjunction with foreign nations. It also declared for protection and reciprocity, the American ownership of the Nicaragua canal, the control of Hawaii, and the purchase of the Danish West Indies.

The Democrats met in Chicago a few weeks later. The party was swayed by the spirit of revolt against old standards. Never had a great party met to nominate a presidential candidate with less knowledge of what it would do. The silver issue had swept the country like a hurricane, and the one thing the convention was sure to do was to pronounce for free coinage. On this subject the party had taken fire, and nothing could stay the impetuous demand for unlimited coinage at the rate of sixteen to one; and this became the chief plank of the platform and the chief issue in the campaign. But who would be the candidate? While this question was pending, William J. Bryan, a member of the Nebraska delegation, addressed the convention in a brilliant, passionate outburst of eloquence that thrilled his hearers with admiration. Bryan was a man unknown to the people at large, and, though he had served two years in Congress, he had not been hitherto thought of as a national party leader. He was a man of pure and sincere personal life; his espousal of the cause of silver was born of honest motives; in his eloquence there was a spark of the divine fire that touches men's souls. The effect of his speech on the convention was magical, and the day after it was made he was nominated for the presidency of the United States. For second place Arthur Sewall of Maine was chosen. The Populist party held its convention a little later, and, being also devoted to free silver, it ratified the nomination of

Bryan; but instead of Sewall it chose Thomas E. Watson of Georgia.⁵⁷

The campaign of 1896 was one of the most exciting the nation has ever seen. At first it seemed that the country would be entranced by the brilliant young Nebraskan, as the Democratic convention had been. Mr. Bryan made a most heroic effort. He traveled in many states and electrified hundreds of thousands with his dramatic eloquence. But ere the summer had passed the people caught their breath. They began to reflect that if the country were thrown on a silver basis business would be greatly disturbed; and that it would not be dealing honestly with the creditor, if he were forced to accept cheaper money for payment than that intended when the debt was contracted.

But old party lines were not strictly drawn. When the Republican convention adopted the gold standard, thirty-four of its delegates, led by one of the ablest Republican senators, Mr. Stewart of Nevada, seceded from the hall, and afterward indorsed Bryan. The Democrats suffered a still greater defection. Many conservatives of the party met in Indianapolis, called themselves the National Democratic party, and nominated John M. Palmer of Illinois and Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky, and adopted a gold standard platform. In addition to these defections, many thousands of Republicans voted for Bryan, and a far greater number of Democrats voted for McKinley.

The election was held on November 3, and resulted in a

⁵⁷ The Prohibitionists had met in Pittsburg in May, and had nominated Joshua Levering of Maryland and Hale Johnson of Illinois. The National party met in the same city, and chose C. E. Bentley and T. H. Southgate. The Socialist Labor party nominated Charles H. Matchett and Matthew McGuire. These parties were scarcely heard in the exciting campaign that followed.

signal victory for McKinley. He carried all the states east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio and the Potomac, also five states in the West, and Kentucky and West Virginia. McKinley received 271 electoral votes, while Bryan received 176.⁵⁸ The campaign, though vigorous, was clean and dignified, both McKinley and Bryan being men of the highest personal character. Marvelously soon after the election the country was quiet; the defeated party accepted the result cheerfully in the true American spirit; and now that the financial status was settled for the time, the business of the country was awakened to new life and new enterprises.

Immediately on his inauguration Mr. McKinley called Congress to meet in extraordinary session on the 15th of March, for the purpose of providing additional revenue. Though the silver issue had been paramount in the campaign, it was understood by the Republicans that, if they won the election, their success would be considered a mandate from the people to enact a new tariff law. They now controlled the Executive and both houses, and they immediately addressed themselves to this subject, Thomas B. Reed of Maine having been elected Speaker of the House. A tariff bill had been prepared during the winter and Mr. Nelson Dingley of Maine brought it before the House. Before the end of March it had passed the House and had been sent to the Senate, where it remained four months. It became a law on July 24, 1897. This tariff, known as the Dingley bill, is still (1904) in force. Its duties average about the same as those of the McKinley bill, but it differs from that

⁵⁸ The popular votes were as follows: McKinley, 7,111,607; Bryan, 6,502,600; Palmer, 134,731; Levering, 123,428; Matchett, 35,306; Bentley, 13,535.

measure in many particulars. On the whole it is a highly protective tariff—higher in its rates than any other in our history except that of 1890.⁵⁹

THE WAR WITH SPAIN

For eighty-four years America had known no foreign war—save the brush with Mexico in the forties—and never had we engaged with a great power, except with England. The year 1898 brought war with Spain, and wrought vast changes in that government and in our own. As stated in an early chapter of this history, Spain was long ago the greatest power in Europe or the world. The dominion of Philip II was vast. He ruled Portugal, the Netherlands, Milan, and the Sicilies; he was master of Cuba, Porto Rico, and almost all of Central and South America. His revenue was ten times that of Elizabeth of England, says Macaulay. But alas for Spain! With all her chivalry and pride, she has fallen from among the great. Her thirst for gold and conquest was the thirst of the inebriate for drink, and the political corruption it brought proved the ruin of Spain.

At the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century the possessions of Spain in the Western Hemisphere were confined to the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, with a few small adjacent islands, and her government of these was one of unceasing corruption and plunder. Often had the people of Cuba revolted against the iron hand of Spain. A ten

⁵⁹ The following winter some important financial legislation was enacted. The gold dollar was made the unit of value, and the gold reserve established at \$150,000,000. Provision was made for refunding the national debt in 2 per cent thirty-year bonds; and the national banking law was so amended as to permit a bank to be established on a capital of \$25,000 and to issue notes to the par value of its bonds deposited in the treasury.



1800—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WADE—1878.

From an enlargement of an original Brady negative, in the War Department, Washington, D.C.

years' war in the island, begun in 1868, ended with promises; but scarcely had the patriots laid down their arms when every promise was broken, and they were ruled by the same tyrannical hand as before. For seventeen years the matter slumbered when, in February, 1895, the Cubans again rose in rebellion against their oppressors. Spain sent an army to put them down, first under General Campos; but he was too humane, and he was replaced by the cruel Weyler.

Many of the Cuban peasants remained quietly on their farms and took no part in the war. These Weyler drove, at the point of the bayonet, from their homes and penned them up in the towns, that they might not furnish food for the rebels. Soon they were in a starving condition and the death rate was frightful; but Weyler gave no heed; his evident intention was to depopulate the island. Our people were deeply concerned. Why this long-drawn-out, wholesale murder right at our door, when we could easily prevent it? President Cleveland hesitated. He was loath to offend a friendly nation; but he warned Spain. In his annual message of 1896 he said, "It cannot be reasonably assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States will be indefinitely maintained." Then he went out of office, and Mr. McKinley followed the same policy, warning Spain in various ways, and another year passed. Both these Presidents felt a responsibility in dealing with a friendly power that a private citizen cannot feel. But Spain refused to heed the warnings. The cry of distress from the unhappy island increased more and more, and it seemed as the voice of a brother's blood crying unto us from the ground—and the American public could endure it no longer.⁶⁰

In the early spring of 1897 President McKinley de-

⁶⁰ Weyler's starvation policy is said to have cost Cuba 250,000 lives.

manded the release of American prisoners in Cuba, and this was heeded. In May he asked Congress for \$50,000 for the relief of Americans in the island, and this was administered. In February, 1898, he sent the *Maine*, a fine second-class battleship of seven thousand tons, to Cuban waters to protect our interests. On the night of the 15th of February, while the crew were sleeping in fancied security, a mighty column of smoke and fire arose from the water, commingled with timbers and beams and the bodies of men. The *Maine* had been blown to fragments and 266 of her gallant crew had perished. When the news was flashed across the country, the people were shocked; and when, after waiting forty days for a board of naval officers to ascertain the cause of the explosion, they were convinced that it was the result of Spanish treachery, their wrath broke forth into fury.

The destruction of the *Maine* hastened, but did not cause, the approaching war. After proposing to Spain an armistice to continue till October 1, 1898, and receiving an unsatisfactory reply, President McKinley, on April 11, sent a message to Congress saying: "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests . . . the war in Cuba must stop." This meant war, for Congress has no diplomatic relations; its only power in dealing with foreign nations is the war power. On the 19th of April—that ominous date in American history, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, of the first bloodshed in the Civil War, and of the blockading proclamation of President Lincoln—on that day Congress resolved that Cuba must be free, authorized the President to use his war power in carrying out the resolution, and declared also that the United States had no



1828—THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD PAUNCEFOTE—1902.
1900.

From an original photograph by L. C. Handy, Washington, D.C.

intention to exercise sovereignty over the island. War was formally declared against Spain on the 25th. The Spanish minister at Washington instantly left the country, and our minister at Madrid, Mr. Woodford, departed from Spain. At that moment no idea of territorial acquisition seemed to enter the American mind. The war was solely for the rescue of Cuba, and no war was ever waged for a nobler purpose. And yet, strange as it may seem, nearly all European countries, except England, displayed a popular feeling against the United States.

The first notable battle of the war occurred in the Orient. Spain had possession in the East of the populous archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, so called in honor of Philip II of Spain, after their discovery by the dauntless Magellan in his famous world voyage. In the spring of 1898 Commodore, now Admiral, George Dewey was commanding a fleet in eastern waters. He was ordered to proceed to Manila Bay and there to attack the Spanish fleet. Manila Bay is one of the finest harbors in the world. At its mouth stand two small islands like sentries, rising five hundred feet above the water. These were bristling with Spanish cannon; but, on the night of April 30, Dewey passed them in safety, and at dawn of the next day he was ready to grapple with the Spanish fleet in the harbor. Here under the guns of Cavité, a town some miles from Manila, the capital of the islands, lay the enemy's vessels—and one of the most remarkable of naval battles immediately followed. The Spanish fleet, commanded by Admiral Montojo, consisted of ten vessels, while Dewey had nine, somewhat better on an average than those of the enemy. The apparent advantage of the Spaniards, owing to the support they had from the shore batteries, did not avail. The battle began in the

early morning hours. It was short and terrific, and wholly one-sided in its results. Five times the American fleet swung past the enemy pouring in its deadly broadsides. By one o'clock in the afternoon the enemy's fleet was totally destroyed and hundreds of the Spaniards were dead or wounded. Not an American was killed, nor was an American vessel disabled. Some months later the city of Manila was captured, with thirteen thousand Spanish soldiers, by a combined attack of the navy under Dewey and a land force sent from the United States under the command of General Merritt, and the entire archipelago was wrested from Spain.

Meantime matters were preparing for equally great events nearer home. The President had called for 125,000 volunteers and the rush to arms was most gratifying.⁶¹ Admiral Sampson had been sent with a fleet to Cuban waters. Commodore Schley was also sent with a flying squadron. These two joined at the mouth of the harbor of Santiago, where a Spanish fleet, under Pascual Cervera, had taken refuge. This fleet was much stronger than that destroyed by Dewey. The fleets of Sampson and Schley, joined by the *Oregon*, after a fourteen-thousand-mile voyage from San Francisco around Cape Horn, watched and waited at the mouth of the harbor for Cervera. To prevent his escape at an unguarded moment a young officer, Richmond P. Hobson, with a few companions, steamed into the harbor under cover of the darkness and sunk an old collier, the *Merrimac*. But ere they had succeeded they were discovered, and they finished the work in the face of a tremendous

⁶¹ The regular army was only 28,000 strong at the beginning of the war. It was soon increased to 61,000 by act of Congress. By the end of August 216,000 men had volunteered, the President having made a second call for 75,000 men.



1858—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

1904.

From an original photograph by L. C. Handy, Washington, D.C.

fire from the enemy, after which they were picked up and made prisoners.

The country was utterly unprepared for war, and many were the blunders and mishaps before an army could be put into the field. After much confusion, 15,000 men were embarked from the coast of Florida on June 14 for the vicinity of Santiago. They were landed sixteen miles south of the harbor and began their march by two mountain trails toward Santiago. There was an army of regulars commanded by Generals Wheeler and Young, while Colonels Wood and Roosevelt led an irregular band of 534 men known as the Rough Riders. These two bodies, leaving the main army behind, pressed forward over the mountains, and encountered the enemy first at Las Guasimas. The Spaniards numbered some 2000 and the Americans less than 1000; but the latter won, driving the enemy before them and capturing their position. The rest of the army came up a few days later, led by Generals Lawton and Chaffee, and it was decided to make an attack on El Caney, a fortified town near Santiago. After a siege of nearly a whole day the works were taken by storm, most of the surviving Spaniards being made prisoners.

San Juan was captured on the same day in a brilliant assault led by Colonel Roosevelt. Other charges were also made on July 2 (some being continued into the next day) at various points near Santiago, and the combined engagements are known as the battle of San Juan. It was the most important land battle of the war. Some 16,000 Americans were engaged under the general command of General William R. Shafter. Of our army 241 were killed and about 1400 wounded.

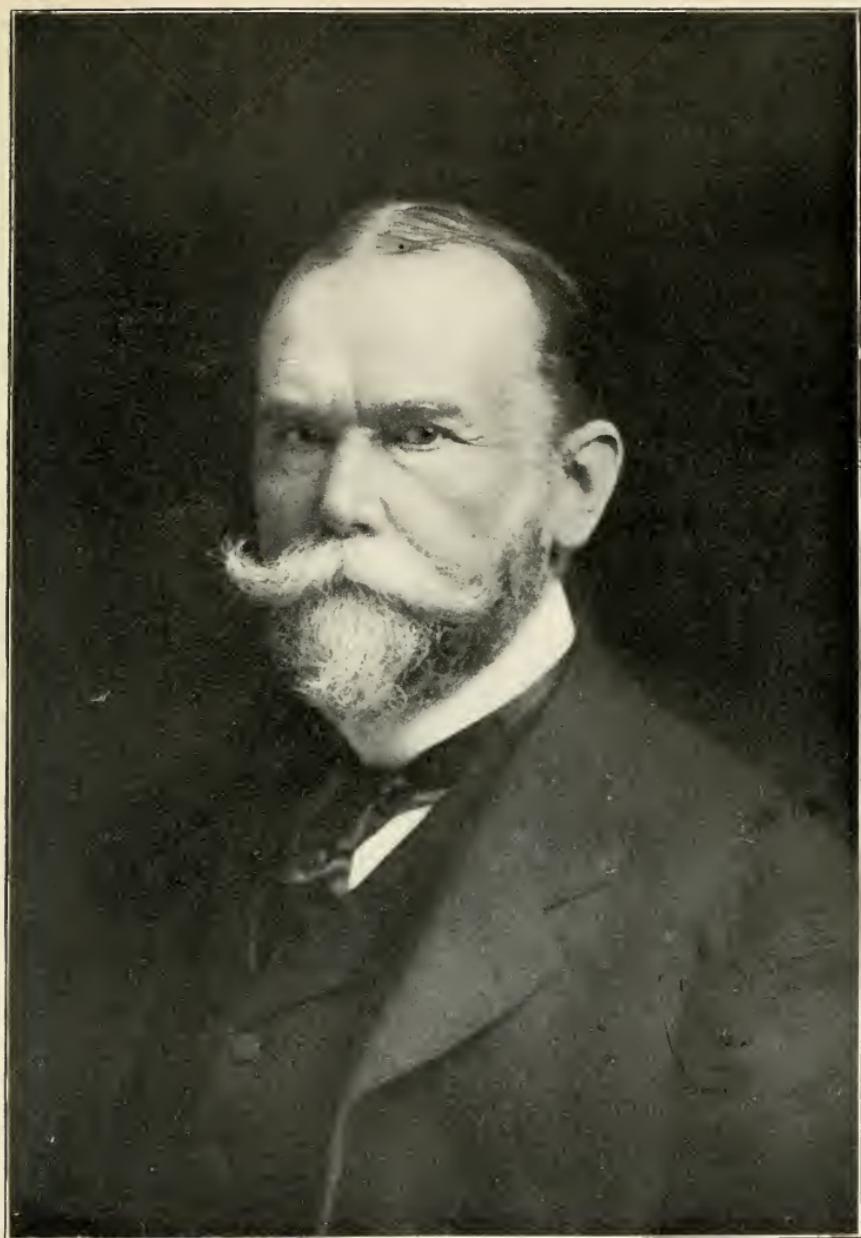
While this was going on, Sampson and Schley were

waiting at the mouth of the harbor for the egress of Cervera. On the morning of the 3d of July, a thin column of smoke was descried far up the bay, and the Americans saw that their long-looked-for enemy was approaching. Cervera, seeing that Santiago was about to fall, had determined to make a dash for liberty—and a wild, fatal dash it was. Admiral Sampson was absent on his flagship, and Commodore Schley had general charge, but, more strictly speaking, it was a captain's fight, as each commander was prepared and did what seemed best in his eyes.

As the Spanish fleet emerged from the harbor, the American ships opened upon it, and in a wild running fight of a few hours the entire Spanish fleet was destroyed. The battle was a repetition of that at Manila. But one American was killed and one wounded, while nearly 600 Spaniards were killed or drowned, nearly 1400, including the brave Cervera, were taken prisoners, and every one of their vessels was sunk or captured.

Two weeks after this battle General Toral surrendered the city of Santiago to General Shafter, and practically the entire island of Cuba passed into the hands of the United States.

The fertile island of Porto Rico, the smallest of the four Greater Antilles, lying some five hundred miles southeast from Cuba, was the next object of attack. On July 20 General Nelson A. Miles, the chief commander of the armies, embarked with an army for Porto Rico. The army landed at Ponce, soon had possession of the city, and began a march toward San Juan, the capital of the island. After several skirmishes, and the capture of several towns, not only by the army under Miles, but by two or three others operating in different parts of the island, all operations were suddenly



1838 — JOHN HAY — 1905.

1905.

From an original photograph by Taylor, Washington, D.C.

brought to a standstill, on August 13, by news that a peace protocol had been signed the day before by the United States and Spain.

The war was over; it had been in progress but little over three months. The Americans had won in every engagement. It was the fall of mediævalism before the onrush of modern progress. The naval power of Spain had been swept from the seas; and now the proud old nation sued for peace. The conditions, as arranged in the protocol, were that Spain forever relinquish her sovereignty over Cuba, that she cede to the United States Porto Rico and her other islands in the West Indies, also an island in the Ladrones, and that the control of the Philippines be determined in a treaty of peace yet to be arranged.

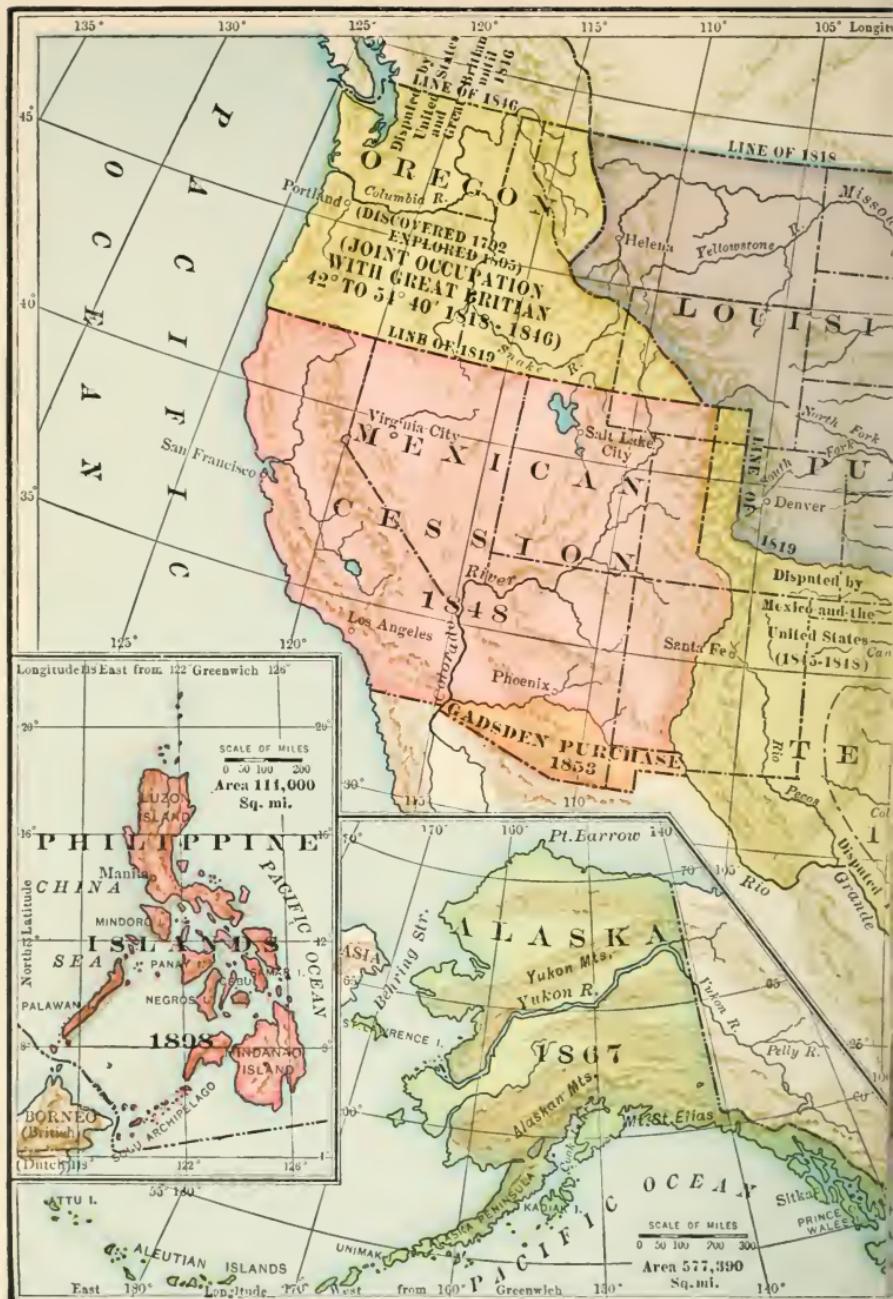
The war with Spain was not a great one, but measured by results it was one of the most important of modern times.⁶² It marked the end of Spanish rule in the Western Hemisphere, and of the Spanish Empire as a world power. But, after all, this war may prove a great blessing to Spain. Being no longer a first-class power, she will have little temptation to boast or to wage war, and if her people, now hemmed within their own peninsula, will turn their attention to the arts of civilization, and to the education of the masses, they may yet become a great and happy people.

Still greater was the change wrought on the United States. During the century and a quarter of our national history we have been content to remain in comparative isolation from the rest of the world; we have taken pride in the fact that we had not and did not wish to have colonial possessions. But suddenly, unexpectedly, our policy has been

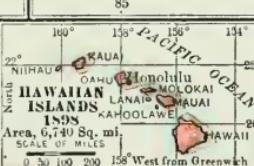
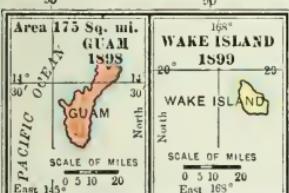
⁶² The cost to the United States was about \$275,000,000; the number of Americans engaged was 274,717.

changed, and we have expanded into a world power. No man planned or foresaw the change. It came probably because it was time for it to come.

The treaty of peace was negotiated at Paris during the autumn of 1898 by commissions from both countries, the American commission being headed by Judge William R. Day, who had resigned the secretaryship of state. Aside from the provisions of the protocol, the one great question to be settled by the treaty was the disposition of the Philippine Islands. There was probably little thought on the part of the administration, when the protocol was signed, of forcing the cession of the islands by Spain. But the capture of Manila by the Americans on the day after the signing of the protocol (of which they had not heard, owing to the severance of telegraphic communication) placed the Philippine question in a different light. The American public now began to view the matter from the standpoint of national responsibility. It would be cowardly, it was argued, to turn the half-civilized Filipinos out upon the world to become a prey to foreign powers, or to hand them back to the misrule of Spain; and the only other alternative was to accept them as a possession of the United States. This view was strengthened by a missionary spirit among the people, and President McKinley came to adopt it. Late in October he cabled our commissioners that the acceptance of the archipelago was the only "plain path of duty." Our commissioners thereupon demanded the cession to the United States of the entire group. The Spanish commissioners objected to this with great vigor and with many arguments; but at length they were obliged to yield, and the entire archipelago was ceded to the United States in consideration of \$20,000,000 to be paid to Spain by the United States. The



(The different Scales used sh



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be noted with particular care.)

treaty also provided that for a term of years Spanish ships and merchandise be admitted to the ports of the islands on the same terms as those of the United States. The treaty was signed on December 12; but when it came before the United States Senate for ratification, considerable opposition was developed. For a month the fate of the treaty was in doubt; but when the vote was taken, on February 6, 1899, the treaty was ratified with a single vote to spare. The queen regent of Spain signed the treaty on the 17th of March.

OUR ISLAND POSSESSIONS

The Philippine Archipelago extends over sixteen degrees of latitude, almost from Borneo to Formosa, and lies wholly within the tropical zone. It comprises 3,141 islands, hundreds of which are uninhabitable volcanic rocks, and 1,473 are without names. The largest of the islands, Luzon (40,969 square miles), is about the size of Ohio; the second in size is Mindanao with 36,292 square miles, Samar coming third with 5,031 square miles. More than 2,700 are less than one square mile each; the entire land area of the archipelago reaches 115,026 square miles.⁶³ The soil is fertile and the chief products are sugar, Manila hemp, tobacco, coffee, and indigo.

The population of the islands, by the census of 1903, published in 1905, was 7,635,426. Of this number 6,987,686 are civilized or partially civilized, and nearly all adherents of the Roman Catholic Church, while 647,740 are known as the wild tribes. The people are divided into many tribes, the most enlightened of which are the Tagalogs, who num-

⁶³ These figures are given by the Census Report (Vol. I, p. 57) issued in April, 1905, but, as therein stated, some of the islands have not been measured with absolute accuracy.

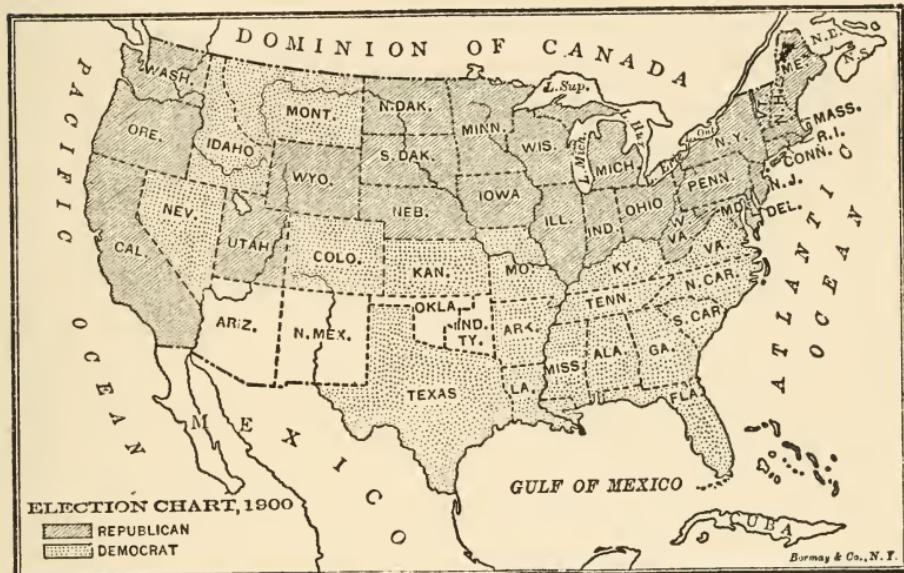
ber 1,460,000. The Visayan tribe is the most numerous, numbering 3,219,030; the Ilocanos number 803,000; the Bicols, 566,365; the Igorots, 211,520. All these tribes are of Malay stock and are supposed to have occupied the islands in comparatively modern times only. The supposed aborigines are the Negritos, of whom 23,500 still exist in the islands. They are a timid, shy, dwarfish people, scarcely three feet in height; they wander in small tribes among the mountains, living on roots and small game.

At the time of the American occupation probably 30,000 Europeans and 100,000 Chinese lived in the islands, and these were in control of nearly all the industries.

Scarcely had the treaty of peace been signed when the Filipinos rose against the Americans, declaring that they had been fighting for independence, and not for a change of masters. The insurrection was headed by a strong young native leader named Emilio Aguinaldo, who proclaimed himself dictator, then president of the Philippine republic. In a few weeks he had 30,000 men under arms; but, after a few pitched battles, it was discovered that the Filipinos could not stand against American troops. It was then decided to disband the Filipino army, discard the uniform, and carry on a guerrilla warfare against the Americans. This method, which soon degenerated into pure brigandage, proved very distressing to the Americans. President McKinley found it necessary to augment the army in the Philippines until it reached 65,000. These were scattered; they occupied many posts, and their petty engagements with the natives numbered hundreds.

Meanwhile the presidential campaign of 1900 had an important bearing on the Philippine War. This campaign was strikingly similar to that of 1896. The presidential

candidates were the same, McKinley and Bryan, and the platforms were very similar to those of four years before. The Democrats, at the behest of Mr. Bryan, embodied the Chicago platform, including its free-silver feature; but they added one important declaration, that against imperialism, and pronounced this the paramount issue of the campaign. The Democrats declared against the continued possession of



the Philippine Islands, and in favor of their ultimate independence, with a promise on our part to protect them against foreign powers by means of an extension of the Monroe Doctrine. The Filipino insurgents, learning that a great political party in the United States had pronounced in favor of their independence, exhibited great activity during the campaign. But the November election brought a signal victory for McKinley, who received 292 electoral votes to 155 for Bryan, and a marked subsidence in Filipino opposition was soon noted.

To aid the army in governing the islands the President appointed on February 6, 1900, a board of civil commissioners with Judge William H. Taft of Ohio at its head. This board reached the Philippines in June, and began its duties in September. It had sole legislative and appointive power, while the military governor continued to be the executive head. The board soon issued codes of law for municipal government, for an electoral system, for the government of the provinces, and the like. A system of secular schools was established, and a thousand American school teachers went to the islands as volunteers to teach the natives.

The insurrection was visibly waning. In March, 1901, Aguinaldo was captured by a clever though undignified strategy, and soon after this he took the oath of allegiance to the United States and issued a manifesto urging his fellow-countrymen to do the same. From this cause and other causes thousands of them did so, and by the close of the year 1901, 765 towns had peacefully accepted civil government, and the insurrection was practically at an end. It had cost the United States \$170,000,000 to pacify the islands. Judge Taft became governor of the archipelago on July 4, 1901, when a new system was inaugurated. The civil government in part superseded the military.⁶⁴ A commission to aid the governor was appointed, to consist of eight persons, three of whom were natives, and a supreme court was organized with four Americans and three native Filipinos. The natives had rebelled against Spain because of the friars, who had come to own a large part of the best

⁶⁴ It was not, however, till July 4, 1902, that the President proclaimed the insurrection at an end, and that the civil government fully superseded the military.

land; and they rebelled against the Americans in part, as they said, because of a provision in the treaty by which the United States promised to respect the rights of the friars. The question of the friars' lands was at length amicably settled between the United States government and the head of the Catholic Church, without doing injustice to the Filipinos;⁶⁵ and when the latter saw that the Americans were disposed to deal justly and kindly with them, giving them a large share in their own government, they laid down their arms, and the islands are now comparatively quiet and peaceful. Governor Taft proved himself a man of great tact and ability, and, after serving as governor for two and a half years, he resigned, and in February, 1904, accepted the position of secretary of war in the Cabinet of the President. Mr. Luke E. Wright, who had been a member of the Philippine Commission, then became governor of the islands.

Soon after the close of the war with Spain the country's attention was turned also to Porto Rico, our new possession in the West Indies. The island had been under military government since the war, but in his annual message of December, 1899, President McKinley recommended civil government for Porto Rico, and stated further that since the island had lost its preferential tariff with Cuba and Spain, "Our plain duty is to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico." Accordingly on January 3, 1900, Senator J. B. Foraker of Ohio introduced a bill in the Senate providing for free trade with the islands, and making the inhabitants citizens of the United States with a representative in Congress. This bill encountered great

⁶⁵ The government paid \$7,239,000 for the friar lands, some 400,000 acres, to be sold to the natives in small lots at a low price.

opposition in the House, supposed to have originated with the sugar refiners, who feared competition with Porto Rican sugar. The debate that followed hinged upon a constitutional question. The Constitution provides that all duties shall be uniform throughout the United States, and the Democrats, with some Republicans, took the ground that the Constitution follows the flag, that it extends of its own force to Porto Rico. The majority of the Republicans took the ground that Porto Rico is neither a state nor a territory, but a dependency, and that Congress has the right to legislate as it will concerning the island. The Republicans won by sheer numbers. A duty of 25 per cent of the Dingley tariff on goods going both ways between the United States and Porto Rico was proposed; but a compromise on 15 per cent for two years was agreed to, and the law was passed. A law was also passed that all duties collected in the United States on Porto Rican goods be appropriated to the expenses of the island. This 15 per cent tariff was to continue for two years, only on condition, however, that the people of the island did not in the meantime establish a system of taxation for their own benefit.⁶⁶ But they did this, and on July 25, 1901, the President proclaimed absolute free trade between the United States and Porto Rico.

⁶⁶ In May, 1901, the Supreme Court rendered the first of its "insular decisions," *DeLima vs. Bidwell*, by which Porto Rico was pronounced a domestic territory of the United States. By this decision the duties levied on exports from Porto Rico to the United States were pronounced illegal and must be refunded. In a later decision, *Dooley vs. the United States*, it was decided that duties levied on goods from the United States to Porto Rico were illegal and must be refunded. The court decided also that Porto Rico is not an integral part, but a possession, of the United States, and that the treaty-making power, while it may acquire new territory, cannot incorporate it into the United States. This may be done only by act of Congress.

Civil government was established in Porto Rico on December 3, 1900, and Charles H. Allen of Massachusetts became the first governor. Mr. Allen was soon succeeded by W. H. Hunt of Montana, who in turn was succeeded by Beekman Winthrop on July 4, 1904. The governing power of the island consists of an American governor appointed by the President, an executive council, half of which shall be Porto Ricans, also appointed by the President, and a house of delegates, elected by the people. The Porto Ricans had welcomed the change of masters at the close of the war. Since then they have made great progress in popular education, in domestic products and commerce, and, with some necessary economic readjustments, such as the securing of the American market for Porto Rican coffee, the prosperity of the island will be assured.

Hawaii meantime had fared even better than Porto Rico. In April, 1900, a law was passed to extend the Constitution to the Hawaiian Islands, including the internal revenue, customs, and maritime laws of the United States, and to make the islands a territory and the people citizens, with a representative in Congress.

CUBA

Scarcely less interesting than Porto Rico and the Philippines was Cuba, on account of which the war with Spain had come about. Congress in declaring war had resolved that the purpose was to rescue the Cubans from the misrule of Spain, after which they should have their independence. Many Americans, who would gladly have seen Cuba annexed to the United States, regretted this action of Congress; but there stood the resolution; the national faith was pledged, and, as the Cuban people displayed no disposition

to enter the Union, there was nothing left but to fulfill our pledge. But the Cubans were not prepared for immediate self-government; they must first be taught some important lessons under the tutelage of the great benefactor that had rescued them from the grinding heel of Spain. Accordingly our War Department took temporary possession of the island. General John R. Brooke became the first American governor, and he was followed, in December, 1899, by General Leonard Wood. A number of commissions, composed of Americans and leading Cubans, were appointed to raise the legal and judicial systems to a higher standard, to organize city governments, to reform the methods of taxation, and to investigate the prisons. The educational system of the island and the sanitary condition of Havana and other cities were improved in a remarkable degree, and, on the whole, the transformation of the island in two or three years was little short of marvelous.

Meanwhile a constitutional convention met at Havana on November 5, 1900, and after three and a half months it brought forth (February 21, 1901) a constitution modeled closely after our Federal Constitution. But a certain distrust of the United States was exhibited in the convention and in various ways throughout the island. This feeling was increased by certain demands made upon Cuba by the American Congress in the form of the "Platt Amendment," an amendment to the army appropriation bill offered by Senator Platt of Connecticut. These demands were as follows: That no foreign power acquire or control any territory in Cuba; that naval stations be granted the United States; that no debt be incurred that could not be met by the revenues of the island; that the United States be authorized to maintain the independence of the island by force if necessary,

and that the Isle of Pines, a small, fertile island south of western Cuba, be ceded to the United States.

These requirements were moderate indeed in the light of the great sum of money spent and the many American lives sacrificed in the rescue of Cuba. The Cuban convention demurred at the Platt Amendment, but after a long debate embodied it in the Constitution, June 12, 1901. The United States, however, decided later that the Isle of Pines be retained by Cuba.⁶⁷

In December, 1901, the people of Cuba held their first general election, and Estrada Palma was elected the first president of the new republic that was soon to come into existence. On May 20, 1902, the Cuban republic became a reality, General Wood was replaced by President Palma, and the occupation of the island by the United States came to an end. Cuba, however, is not an absolutely independent nation. The conditions of the Platt Amendment reserve to the United States certain protective powers by means of which the Cubans, while enjoying all the benefits of self-government, are restrained from certain excesses, among which are rebellions and revolutions, so common to the Latin-American countries.

Our dealing with Cuba on the whole has been remarkable for its generosity. At the close of the war with Spain Cuba was utterly powerless in our hands. Our expense in delivering the island from Spain was enormous, and had we chosen to evade the terms of our congressional resolution and to make Cuba our prize of war, no hand could have prevented our doing so. But instead of this we have incurred great additional expense in placing the Cubans on their feet,—in cleansing their cities, in organizing their

⁶⁷ Or rather, a treaty with that end in view is now pending.

school system, in renovating their judicial and administrative systems, in voting \$3,000,000 to pay the Cuban soldiers,—and after all this we have handed the island over to its inhabitants, with scarcely a word of gratitude for our services. The student of history must search long to find a parallel case,—such extraordinary treatment of a weak and helpless people by a great and powerful nation; and we venture to hope that the time will come when the people of Cuba will place the true value upon the services of their great benefactor.

During the years following the war with Spain a large part of the energy of the administration, as also of public attention, was directed, as we have noticed, to our new possessions in the Orient, to Cuba and Porto Rico. But there were also other public affairs of importance. President McKinley, in his annual message of December, 1898, recommended that the regular army be increased to 100,000 men and that fifteen new vessels be built for the navy. Congress soon afterward passed a bill to increase the regular army to 65,000, to which should be added 35,000 volunteers, most of whom were to be sent to the Philippines. It also authorized the building of three new battleships and nine smaller vessels, and it restored the rank of admiral, Rear Admiral Dewey being commissioned to fill it.⁶⁸

The Fifty-sixth Congress met on December 4, 1899. The Senate elected as its chairman W. P. Frye of Maine, Vice President Hobart having died on November 11, while D. B. Henderson of Iowa was elected Speaker of the House. Brigham H. Roberts of Utah was excluded from the House

⁶⁸ Hitherto but two persons, Farragut and Porter, had held this rank in the United States navy. On the death of Porter in 1891 the grade of admiral was allowed to lapse.

by a vote of 302 to 31, because he was an avowed polygamist.

During the summer and autumn of 1900 public attention was absorbed, not only by a presidential campaign and the affairs of the various islands, as noticed, but by an uprising in China. An anti-foreign society, known as the Boxers, began a crusade against foreigners in China. The foreign diplomatic corps at Peking, including the American minister, Mr. E. H. Conger, demanded that the Boxers be



suppressed, but they received no satisfactory answer. They then called on their respective countries for military aid, and the United States, with most of the European countries and Japan, responded. Marines were landed at Taku, whereupon the rioters became more active than before. They killed the German minister, and for five weeks held the foreign legations in Peking isolated from the rest of the world. The allies seized the forts at Taku, upon which the Chinese government ordered retaliation. A fierce battle occurred on July 14 at Tientsin; the city was captured by the allies, to whom Peking also surrendered in August, and

the foreign ministers were rescued. At length the trouble was settled through an arrangement by which the Chinese government agreed to pay a large indemnity to the powers and to punish the leaders of the uprising.

Another matter of great interest to Americans, and to the people of other countries as well, was the establishing of the international tribunal at The Hague. Suggested by the Czar of Russia, it soon found favor with most civilized nations. The first conference was held in May, 1899. This tribunal is an international arbitration court, to which certain kinds of matters in dispute between civilized nations are to be brought for settlement without war. If it proves to be permanent and successful, as now seems probable, it must be pronounced one of the most important steps ever taken in the advance of modern civilization.

Congress, during the winter following the presidential election, increased the House membership to 386, in accordance with the new census,⁶⁹ reorganized the army, and, in deference to the temperance sentiment of the country, abolished the canteen. It also reduced war revenues by \$40,000,000 a year, by lowering the stamp duties affecting the sale of beer and cigars, and removing those affecting various legal documents. The session ended with the 4th of March, the day that witnessed the second inauguration of McKinley.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ The population by the census of 1900 was, including Hawaii and Alaska, 76,303,387. Of these the native born numbered 65,843,302; the foreign born, 10,460,085. The white population numbered 66,990,788; negro, 8,840,789; Chinese, 119,050; Japanese, 86,000; Indian, 266,760. See Census Report. Vol. I, Part I, pp. 482, 483.

⁷⁰ The old Cabinet was retained. The members were John Hay, secretary of state; Lyman J. Gage, secretary of the treasury; Elihu Root, secretary of war; John D. Long, secretary of the navy; Ethan A. Hitch-

Every index seemed to point to a prosperous administration. But a few months later the country was called, for the third time, to mourn the death of the chief magistrate at the hand of an assassin. On the 6th of September, while holding a public reception at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, the President was shot twice by an anarchist named Czolgosz, who had concealed a revolver under a handkerchief, which appeared to cover an injured hand. One shot penetrated the stomach, but it was believed for some days that the President would recover. At length, however, he began to sink, and on the 14th he died.

No President since Andrew Jackson had, after a four years' service, been so popular with all classes as was McKinley. It is hardly probable that history will pronounce him a statesman of the first rank. His great popularity doubtless rested on a twofold basis: first, he possessed surpassing ability as a politician and party manager, and he had the skill to conceal this fact from the public; second, he was personally a man of sincere, pure life, of a great, generous heart, and of upright motives. It may be added further that his tact in winning friends, and his power to grapple them to his soul with hooks of steel, would be difficult to parallel.

On the day of McKinley's death, Theodore Roosevelt, who had been elected Vice President, took the oath of office at Buffalo as President of the United States. Mr. Roosevelt had attracted public attention as a fearless public official in his native state of New York and in Washington, and as a cock, secretary of the interior; James Wilson, secretary of agriculture; John W. Griggs, attorney-general; and Charles Emory Smith, postmaster-general. Mr. Griggs soon resigned and was succeeded by P. C. Knox.

dashing soldier in Cuba. He now declared his intention to carry out the policy of the late President on the great questions of the day, and he requested the members of the Cabinet to retain their respective places. They all agreed to do so; but various changes were made within the following two or three years.

The summer of 1902 will be long remembered on account of the great miners' strike in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania. The strike, which involved 147,000 workmen, was made to secure an advance in wages, a reduction of the hours of labor, and the recognition of the Miners' Union. The mines of the entire anthracite region were practically closed for more than five months, and the coal famine brought distress to every class of society. Manufactories were closed, prices rose, and yet as the summer passed no sign of a settlement seemed in sight. At length President Roosevelt interposed, and appealed to both parties to submit their differences to arbitration. To this they agreed, and a commission of seven men was appointed by the President to adjust the differences after making a thorough investigation. Pending the investigation the strike was declared off, and the miners returned to work on the 24th of October.

Few events of national interest occurred in 1903, aside from those pertaining to the proposed isthmian canal. On the 14th of February a bill became a law creating a ninth Cabinet position, the Department of Commerce and Labor, and George B. Cortelyou became the first to fill the new office. A treaty of reciprocity with Cuba was before the United States Senate in March; and a coterie of senators interested in the manufacture of sugar, fearing that the importation of Cuban sugar would cheapen sugar in this country, opposed the treaty. But the American public, out

of a kindly feeling toward Cuba, whose trade was in a deplorable condition, were clamorous for the ratification of the treaty. The Senate therefore made a pretense of complying with the public demand. It ratified (March 19), but did so on such conditions that the treaty would be inoperative until an act to put it into operation should be passed, which, it was well known, could not be done at this session. Thus the matter was left over, and the President in consequence called Congress to meet in extra session on November 9 to complete the ratification of the treaty. This was done, but not until after the opening of the regular session in December. The buildings of the World's Fair, to be held at St. Louis in 1904, were dedicated on April 30, the hundredth anniversary of the signing of the treaty of sale in Paris. The Alaskan boundary commission, sitting in London, decided (October 17) the dispute between the United States and Canada concerning the western boundary of British Columbia, in favor of the United States, except two small islands in the Portland Channel, which went to Canada.

THE Isthmian CANAL

One of the great public questions of recent years is that concerning the construction of a ship canal across the isthmus at some point between North and South America. For more than fifty years this subject has engaged the attention of the United States and, to some extent, of all civilized nations. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was framed with reference to this great project.⁷¹ But in the early fifties the slavery question came to absorb public attention in the United States, and this, followed by the Civil War

⁷¹ See *supra*, Vol. III, p. 214.

and reconstruction, caused the canal project to lie dormant for many years. In 1870 the United States government again turned its attention to the canal project. Two exploring expeditions, one to Darien and the other to Tehuan-tepec, were sent out that year; but their reports were not acted on, and the subject was left for ten years longer.

In 1881 Mr. Blaine, while secretary of state under Garfield, had a sharp controversy with Lord Granville concerning the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. Blaine contended that the interoceanic canal should be under the political control of the United States, that the United States would view with grave concern the interference of any European power, and that the treaty of 1850 should be so modified as to conform with the changed conditions. Secretary of State Frelinghuysen, under President Arthur, went still farther, and declared that the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was obsolete and not binding on either power. Great Britain denied this, and refused to yield her rights under the treaty. After this correspondence little was done on the part of the United States for a number of years, and meantime a French company made strenuous but fruitless efforts to join the two oceans at Panama.

The French company was organized by Ferdinand de Lesseps. Terms were made with the government of Colombia, and the work was begun in 1881. But the company, after expending more than 770,000,000 francs and failing to obtain a loan of 600,000,000 more, went into liquidation in 1889. A new company was formed, however, and in 1894 the Colombia government extended its concessions for ten years longer on the condition that the work be immediately prosecuted. Some 3000 men were then employed to continue the work, mainly in reducing the Culebra hill. But

this company which, with its predecessor, had expended a vast sum of money, found the work of constructing the canal too onerous, and suspended operations.

While the French were operating at Panama, the United States had focused its attention on Nicaragua. A private Nicaragua company was organized in 1887. The government seemed inclined to aid this company, and two bills passed the Senate to that end; but at length the attention of Congress was again turned toward government ownership. For some years the subject had been before Congress and various commissions had been appointed. In June, 1897, President McKinley appointed the Walker-Haupt commission, with Admiral John G. Walker at its head, and Professor Lewis M. Haupt as one of its members, to examine the Nicaraguan route. While this commission was making a survey in Nicaragua, attention was directed to Panama, by the collapse of the French company, and by an offer of that company to sell its interests to the United States for \$109,000,000. In March, 1899, those favoring the Panama route secured the passage of a bill in Congress appropriating \$1,000,000 for a new survey. Thereupon a new commission was appointed, or rather, the old one was enlarged, to examine every available point, and to determine the most feasible one for a canal. This included Panama. But the commission, in a preliminary report (November 28, 1900), recommended the Nicaragua route; and three days later protocols of agreement with Nicaragua and Costa Rica were signed. The commission reported again (December, 1901) for the Nicaragua route; and a bill, known as the Hepburn bill, passed the House in 1901, and again in January, 1902, authorizing the government to construct the canal by this route. But the Senate failed to act on it.

In reporting as it did, however, the commission made it clear that the Panama route would be preferable, but for the excessive price at which the French held their interests, the real value of which the commission estimated at \$40,000,-000.⁷² The French company then, fearing that it might lose all, reduced its price to this figure. Thereupon the commission made a report in favor of the Panama route.

This important turn in the affair led the United States to give serious attention to Panama. The Panama route was, for various reasons, considered preferable. Though over 300 miles farther from the United States, the canal at Panama would be but 49 miles in length, while at Nicaragua it would be 184 miles—more than 100 of which, however, would be through Lake Nicaragua and the channel of the San Juan River. It was estimated that the cost of constructing a canal at Panama, as well as of its subsequent operation, would be much less than at Nicaragua.

But the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty stood in the way. With that treaty in force, the United States could not act with a free hand at any point. Accordingly, Secretary of State Hay arranged with Lord Pauncefote (February, 1900) a treaty by which Great Britain renounced all right to joint construction and ownership, and the United States agreed to unite with England in guaranteeing the neutrality of the proposed canal. But the United States Senate, in ratifying the treaty in December of the same year, added to it such amendments as to render it unacceptable to England, and that country rejected it in March, 1901. Mr. Hay and Lord Pauncefote proceeded to frame a second treaty, which was

⁷² Less than \$90,000,000 of the vast sum spent by the French had been actually spent on construction; the remainder went to promoters, politicians, and newspapers.

signed in November, 1901. This proved acceptable to both countries, was duly ratified, and went into operation in February, 1902.

By this Hay-Pauncefote Treaty the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 is superseded, and the neutrality of the canal is secured, while the United States becomes the sole builder, owner, and protector. The treaty further provides that the canal shall never be blockaded, and that no act of war shall be committed within it. Though the vessels of a belligerent may use the canal, they shall not take on stores or provisions, except what may be necessary, while passing through it, nor remain more than twenty-four hours within three miles of either terminus.

The report made by the commission in favor of Panama, was sent to Congress by President Roosevelt on January 20, 1902. At length, late in June, a bill was passed authorizing the President to purchase the French interests for \$40,000,000, and to construct the canal at Panama at a cost not exceeding \$130,000,000 additional; or, in case the French company could not give a clear title, or in case the necessary territory and jurisdiction could not be secured from Colombia, the President was directed to construct the canal at Nicaragua, at a cost not exceeding \$180,000,000.

After a careful examination, Attorney-General Knox reported that the Panama Company could convey a good title, and it was decided to accept its offer, subject to the mutual ratification of a treaty between the United States and Colombia. Secretary Hay and Dr. Herran, the Colombian commissioner, after some months of negotiation, signed the Hay-Herran Treaty on January 28, 1903, and it went before the Senate on the 3d of February. But owing to opposition, led by Senator Morgan of Alabama, who pre-

ferred the Nicaragua route, the treaty had not been ratified on the 4th of March, when the Fifty-seventh Congress expired. The President, therefore, called an extra session of the Senate for March 5, and on the 17th the treaty was ratified by a large majority. This treaty proposed to authorize the Panama Company to sell its franchise and all its interests to the United States, and to provide for the lease to the United States by Colombia, for the term of one hundred years, with the privilege of perpetual renewal, of a zone across the isthmus six miles in width. The United States was to pay Colombia the sum of \$10,000,000 on the ratification of the treaty by both countries, and, beginning nine years later, an annual rental of \$250,000. The work was to begin within two years, and the canal was to be opened within fourteen years, unless the work should be delayed by certain specified obstacles. The sovereignty of the canal zone was to remain with Colombia.

The arrangements on the whole were very favorable to Colombia, for the canal would become a wonderful stimulus to Colombian prosperity, and that country could well have afforded to grant the privileges free, rather than miss the opportunity. But a strong opposition to the treaty soon developed in the Colombian Senate, the motive of which, as generally believed, was purely mercenary. On August 17 the treaty was rejected by a unanimous vote of the Colombian Senate sitting at Bogota. The cause of this action was quite plain when, in October, Colombia practically offered to make a new treaty if the ten million bonus be raised to twenty-five millions. It was also discovered that the Bogota politicians were planning to extort a portion of the forty millions from the French company; or to take over the

entire French works on the expiration of the ten years' grant, made in 1894.

Scarcely had the Colombian Congress adjourned when the people of Panama, who greatly favored the canal project and who had been restive under Colombian rule for many years, rose against their government and set up a provisional government, proclaiming Panama an independent republic. The United States had expected the movement; and but three days after the revolt our government recognized the new republic. Colombia saw her blunder when too late; her wail of despair was unavailing. She offered to grant all canal concessions free if the United States would permit her to send troops to subjugate Panama; but the United States had taken the infant republic under its protection, and the offer was declined. The administration was severely criticised by many for such precipitate action; but the people generally approved, not only because of an intense desire to secure the canal, but also because of the contempt felt for the trifling, mercenary methods employed by Colombia. Why should this insignificant government, in which half a hundred revolutions had occurred in as many years, now in the hands of a clique of venial politicians, be permitted to hold up for an indefinite time this vast work in the line of progress and modern civilization? The criticisms of the administration were greatly softened by the fact that France, England, and other powers were also prompt in recognizing the new republic of Panama.

The next move in the rapid progress of events was the framing of a treaty with Panama. This was soon done by Secretary Hay and M. Bunau-Varilla, who represented Panama. The treaty was signed on November 18, and was ratified by Panama on December 2. It is very similar to

the Hay-Herran Treaty; the same bonus of \$10,000,000 is to be paid to Panama that was offered Colombia, while the French company will receive its \$40,000,000. The independence of Panama is guaranteed by the treaty.

The treaty is in one respect far more satisfactory to the United States than was the Hay-Herran Treaty: it grants to the United States practical sovereignty over the canal belt (ten miles wide instead of six) across the isthmus. This fact is highly important in view of the frequent revolutions in the Latin-American states.

President Roosevelt discussed the subject at length in his annual message in December; and again in a special message on the reassembling of Congress on January 4, 1904 (the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty being then before the Senate), he defended the course of the administration with great force. He declared that the United States had nothing whatever to do with bringing about the revolt in Panama, that it simply recognized the new nation, as it had a right to do, that "he would not for one moment discuss the possibility of the United States committing an act of such baseness as to abandon the new republic," and that the only question now to be considered was whether to build the canal or not to build it. After some weeks' debate the United States Senate ratified the treaty on February 23, 1904, fourteen votes being cast against it.

On February 29 the President appointed a commission headed by Rear-Admiral John G. Walker, the chief engineer being John F. Wallace, general manager of the Illinois Central Railroad system. This commission sailed early in March. In April a bill passed Congress for the government of the canal zone, almost identical in substance with that of 1803 for the government of Louisiana. It gave the sole

power, for the time, into the hands of the President, who, on May 9, promulgated rules for the government of the canal zone. The supervision of the work was given to the secretary of war, General George W. Davis, a member of the commission, having been appointed governor of the zone.

The work of this commission was preparatory, and after a year of service in which the sanitary conditions of the isthmus were greatly improved, another commission was appointed, the chairman of which is Theodore P. Shonts, president of the Toledo, St. Louis and Western Railway, a man of great force and ability, who will receive an annual salary of \$30,000. Mr. Wallace, who is also a master in his line, is reappointed chief engineer. Charles E. Magoon is made governor of the canal zone. It has not yet been decided whether a high-level canal with locks, or a sea-level canal will be constructed. It is quite possible that a sea-level canal will be decided on, the estimated cost of which is about \$300,000,000. The length of the great canal will be nearly fifty miles; it will be forty feet deep, two hundred and eighty feet wide at the top and two hundred feet at the bottom. It is the most colossal engineering project in the world's history. Some 5000 men are now (May, 1905) at work and many thousands more will be needed in the near future. As American laborers are unable to endure the climate, the men employed are chiefly Jamaicans, Barbadians, Costa Ricans, and Nicaraguans, and it is expected that to these will be added Porto Ricans, Chinese and Japanese. Experts are now of the opinion that even a sea-level canal can be opened within twelve years.

The Panama Canal when finished will be a work of incalculable benefit to the commercial world. The distance by

sea from New York to San Francisco, now 13,714 miles, will be reduced to 5299, a saving of 8415; the gain from Liverpool to San Francisco will be 6046 miles, and from New York to Sydney, Australia, about 4000 miles.

WORLD'S FAIR AT ST. LOUIS—1904

At the approach of the hundredth anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase the country prepared to celebrate the event by an exhibition on a gigantic scale, the third within a generation. St. Louis, the largest city within the territory that had been purchased by Jefferson in 1803, was chosen as the site of the fair, and, as in the case of the Columbian Exposition at Chicago, it was held the year following the centennial of the purchase, owing to tardiness in making preparations.

What we have said of the fair of 1893 at Chicago will apply in a general way to the one held at St. Louis, though the latter was of considerably larger dimensions and contained many new features. The Chicago Exposition covered 633 acres, that at Paris in 1900 336 acres, the Centennial at Philadelphia 236 acres, while the St. Louis Exposition covered 1,240 acres, on which more than 500 buildings, they covering 300 acres, were erected. The cost of this great exposition reached \$50,000,000, far exceeding that of any other of its kind in history.⁷³

The great fair was held just west of Forest Park, a beautiful, well-wooded tract some four miles westward from the

⁷³ This great sum was made up of \$5,000,000 contributed by citizens of St. Louis, an equal sum by the city, and \$5,000,000 by the general government, to which was added at a later date a loan of \$4,600,000. To this nucleus was added one million by the State of Missouri, five millions by foreign governments, six millions by the various states, an equal sum for concessions, and private exhibits of great value.

business center of the city. The chief executive of the exposition was David R. Francis, former governor of Missouri. Ground was first broken in December, 1901, after which the building progressed rapidly. The board of architects employed was headed by men of international reputation. When completed the new city presented a sight of imposing grandeur. The largest buildings, with one exception, were arranged in front of Festival Hall in the shape of a huge fan. In this group there were structures of immense proportions. The first tier, forming the arc of a circle immediately in front of Festival Hall, was composed of the buildings of Mines and Metallurgy, Education, Electricity, and Machinery, two on either side of Grand Basin, a beautiful lagoon of about ten acres. Immediately back of this group, forming a similar arc to a greater circle, stood the four great buildings of Liberal Arts, Manufactures, Varied Industries, and Transportation.

The largest building on the ground, however, was the Agricultural building, situated on an eminence half a mile or more westward from the main group. It was 1,600 feet long by 500 feet wide, covered twenty acres and contained four miles of aisles. The exhibits in these great structures, as in many others, were bewildering in their numbers and attractiveness. The view from the base of the Louisiana monument, on the Plaza of St. Louis, looking toward Festival Hall with its sloping lawns and its glittering cascades, especially at night when lit up by myriads of electric lamps, was, beyond a doubt, the most gorgeous and magnificent ever devised by the hand of art.

The most interesting new feature of the exposition was the Philippine Exhibit, covering forty-seven acres and costing a million dollars. This was not only an elaborate ex-

hibition of the many products of the islands, it also furnished an actual view of the natives in their home life. Eleven hundred Filipinos, representing many tribes, spent the summer on the grounds, living in their natural way, chiefly in bamboo thatched cottages, brought for the purpose from their native land. Here were representatives of the civilized Tagalogs and Visayans, the head-hunting Igorrotes, the fierce Moros, and of the dwarfish aboriginal Negritos. As an object lesson to the American people, showing the products of our new possessions in the Orient, the character and habits of the people, no better plan could have been devised than the Philippine exhibit.

Among the special features of the great fair were: A reproduction of the city of Jerusalem, covering eleven acres; a reproduction of the Boer War, with sham battles led by General Cronje; an exhibition of Queen Victoria's Jubilee presents, through the courtesy of the British government; the largest organ in the world, with 155 stops and 10,000 pipes; a government bird cage 300 feet long; the Ferris wheel, same as used at Chicago in 1893; the great floral clock with dial 100 feet in diameter; the Louisiana Purchase monument, 100 feet in height, its summit crowned with a colossal statue of Peace; and innumerable pieces of statuary and art. Never before had the world's progress in civilization been exhibited with such splendor and on so grand a scale.

The amusement feature of the fair was known as the Pike, which corresponded to the famous Midway at Chicago in 1893. The Pike presented innumerable attractions, at an outlay of five million dollars. Prominent among them were a reproduction of Alpine village life and scenery, village life in Ireland, in Spain, Egypt, Turkey, China, and

in Alaska, panoramic illusions of great American battles, of a trip to the North Pole, to Siberia, under the sea to Paris, a reproduction of the Galveston flood, and a great number of other spectacular shows.

The attendance reached almost 19,000,000, which was considerably short of the attendance at Chicago eleven years before, for the reason, doubtless, that St. Louis is a much smaller city than Chicago, and not located on the main line of travel between the East and West. Financially the exposition did not pay, but as a means of educating the people in the progress of art, science, and the wonderful stride of modern civilization, it was eminently successful.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST OF 1904.

The year 1904, memorable for the great fair at St. Louis, will also be remembered for its presidential election, which presented some unique features. There was an early movement in the Republican party to place President Roosevelt in nomination for first place. A formidable opposition to his candidacy soon developed, especially among the great corporations, which had been offended at his independent course, not only while President, but also while he was governor of New York. This faction spoke freely of selecting Senator Marcus Hanna of Ohio to head the ticket. The masses of the people, however, were strongly attached to Mr. Roosevelt, and a serious breach in the party seemed imminent when, on Feb. 15, 1904, the opposition was thrown into disorder by the death of Senator Hanna. This left the Roosevelt following in complete possession of the field. The opposition failed to rally. The Republican convention, which met at Chicago on the twenty-first of June, nominated Mr. Roosevelt on the first ballot by a unanimous vote.

For second place on the ticket Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana received the nomination. The principles of the party had, before the balloting, been set forth in a powerful speech by Elihu Root of New York, former secretary of war in the Cabinets of McKinley and Roosevelt. The substance of this speech was embodied in the platform, which pronounced for the maintenance of the principle of protection, admitting that rates of duty should be readjusted when conditions demanded; declared combinations of capital and labor to be the results of the economic movement of the age, and that they should not be permitted to infringe on the rights of the people, and warmly endorsed the course of President Roosevelt.

The real platform, however, was found in the record of the party in the few years immediately preceding, and in the record and personality of the President.

The Democrats met in national convention on July 6 at St. Louis. The party was suffering from that most menacing of party maladies—a divided leadership. The two great factions were known as the Radicals, led by William J. Bryan of Nebraska, and the Conservatives, who, while without a conspicuous leader, were sometimes called Clevelandites, because of their agreement with the principles of former President Cleveland. Indeed, there were many who had favored the nomination of Cleveland for a third term; but this movement was bitterly opposed by Mr. Bryan and his followers. At length Mr. Cleveland set the matter at rest by declaring, in a letter to the Brooklyn Eagle, his unalterable determination not to be a candidate.

After the withdrawal of Mr. Cleveland's name the one most freely spoken of was Alton B. Parker, chief Judge of the court of appeals of New York. Judge Parker repre-

sented the conservative element of the party and was strongly endorsed by Mr. Cleveland. Next to Judge Parker the most conspicuous candidate was William R. Hearst, proprietor of the New York American and various other newspapers. Mr. Hearst was a radical, but not the chosen representative of the radical wing of the party. His candidacy was chiefly brought about by his own efforts and was managed by his own hired agents.

By the time the convention met it was clear that the conservatives would control it and the nomination of Parker seemed a foregone conclusion. As a two-thirds vote was necessary to adopt a platform and to make nominations the only hope of the radicals was to control more than one-third of the votes and thereby prevent the nomination of an undesirable candidate and the adoption of a too conservative platform. By far the strongest leader in the convention was Mr. Bryan. His following was strong enough to enforce his demand that a gold plank, which the conservatives had put into the platform, be removed. At his behest the money question was omitted and other changes were made in the platform. When completed that document called for a radical reduction of the tariff, condemned the trusts as "a menace to beneficial competition," and denounced the administration as "spasmodic, erratic, sensational and spectacular."

Judge Parker was nominated on the first ballot, and a few hours later his friends were thrown into consternation by a telegram from him declaring that he considered the gold standard as finally and irrevocably established, and requesting that his views be made known to the convention in order that another might be chosen in his stead if deemed advisable. The convention, after a hurried conference, an-

swwered the candidate that, as the money question was not considered an issue, it was quite proper that he hold those views and remain on the ticket. The convention then chose Henry G. Davis, an aged West Virginian of great wealth and former United States senator, for second place on the ticket.

Mr. Parker's telegram won him marked approbation as a man of great courage and decision of character.

The Populists met at Springfield, Illinois, on the fourth of July and nominated Thomas E. Watson of Georgia and Thomas H. Tribbles of Nebraska. The Prohibitionists met at Indianapolis and nominated the Rev. Dr. Silas C. Swallow of Pennsylvania for the presidency. The Social Democratic party named Eugene V. Debs and the Socialist Labor party named Charles H. Corregan to head their respective tickets.

The campaign, by general consent, remained quiet until the first of October. The drift of public opinion seemed obviously toward Roosevelt. Judge Parker, a man of proved ability and of an exceptionally attractive personality, was scarcely known to the people at large. Before his nomination at St. Louis he had remained silent on all public questions. Not until the last few weeks of the campaign did he come out openly and speak freely. He then caused a sensation by accusing the administration of extracting campaign funds from the great corporations through secret information gained by Mr. Cortelyou while he was secretary of commerce and labor. This accusation brought from President Roosevelt a vigorous written denial but three days before the election. The election was held on November 6 and the Republican sweep of the country was more extensive than had been anticipated by the most sanguine

friends of the administration. The Republican candidates were successful in every Northern state and in West Virginia and Missouri. The people, however, showed their independence of party by electing Democratic governors in Massachusetts, Missouri, Minnesota and Montana, while in Colorado the vote for governor was so close as to bring about a contest.

Not for many years had there been so great a victory in a national contest. It was due chiefly to the personality of the President, whose open candor in dealing with public questions, whose vigorous, strenuous manhood, and obvious honesty of motives won him the universal support of his party. Even his mistakes, arising from honest, unstudied impulse, rather than from sinister motives, won him friends. His popular plurality reached the enormous figure of 2,524,244, while in the electoral college his vote was 336 to 140 for Parker.⁷⁴

And yet it is a fact that Roosevelt did not probably receive many Democratic votes. The wide difference between his vote and that of Parker arose from the fact that Parker did not command the full strength of his party. This arose from party division. Mr. Bryan came out magnanimously for Parker and made many telling speeches; but many thousands of his followers, more radical than their leader, refused to be reconciled to the Conservatives and remained away from the polls.

⁷⁴ The entire vote cast was 13,544,705, being divided as follows: Roosevelt, 7,630,893; Parker, 5,106,649; Debs, 397,208; Swallow, 258,039; Watson, 114,106; Corrigan, 32,516, and a few scattering. The entire vote of the country fell nearly half a million short of that of 1900, notwithstanding the increase of population. The Congressional election of 1904 also resulted in a great Republican victory. In the 59th Congress the House will consist of 252 Republicans and 134 Democrats.

Not many hours after the result of the election was known President Roosevelt added to the sum of his popularity, if such a thing were possible, by a decisive statement that under no conditions would he again be a candidate for the great office to which he had been elected.

FINAL SESSION OF THE FIFTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

This short session of Congress will be remembered for the sharp differences that developed between the President and the Senate.⁷⁵ The first and probably most serious of these

⁷⁶ Among the most important events, beginning with January, 1904, and not mentioned in the text, are the following:—

On February 8, 1904, but three days after the outbreak of the war between Russia and Japan, Secretary Hay invited various European powers to coöperate with the United States in suggesting to the belligerents in the Orient that they confine the seat of war to certain limits and that they maintain the administrative entity of China. The response was favorable and both belligerents agreed to comply with the request.

On March 7 the House passed a resolution to investigate the Beef Trust. The first result was an injunction of United States Circuit Judge Grosscup, of Chicago, restraining the great meat-packers from combining to fix prices of cattle and of beef. This decision was confirmed by the Federal Supreme Court in January, 1905. Meantime a searching investigation into the business methods of the trust was made by the government under the leadership of James R. Garfield, head of the bureau of corporations. His report was less decisive against the trust than was generally expected. However, various suits against the meat packers for violating the injunction were begun in Chicago. Mr. Garfield has also begun an investigation of the Standard Oil Company.

The Northern Securities decision of the Supreme Court on March 14, 1904, was a subject of much interest. The Great Northern and Northern Pacific railroads became the joint purchasers of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy system; but as the laws of Minnesota and of other states in the Northwest forbade such a consolidation under a single board of directors, the promoters went to New Jersey and incorporated a new company, the Northern Securities Company, which then proceeded to purchase the stock of the three companies and

was brought about by a recommendation in the President's December message concerning the regulation of railroad rates by the federal government. He recommended that on the interstate commerce commission be conferred "the power to revise rates and regulations, the revised rate to at once go into effect and to stay in effect, unless and until the court of review reverses it."

For many years there had been complaints from small shippers of discriminations against them in freight rates. The President's method of correcting this abuse, by no means a radical one, met with a wide approval among the people. But an immediate opposition was developed among railroad magnates, who contended that railroads are private property and that rate-making is no more the business of

merged them into one combination, with James J. Hill at the head. The governor of Minnesota then appealed to President Roosevelt. The President turned the matter over to Attorney General Knox, who proceeded against the new company under the Sherman Anti-trust law. The Circuit Court, sitting at St. Paul, and composed of four judges, decided against the Northern Securities Company (April, 1903) and this decision was sustained, as noted, by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Another item of public interest was the service pension order of March 16, 1904. A service pension law, similar to that vetoed by President Cleveland seventeen years before, was talked of. But as Congress seemed disinclined to enact such a law, Mr. Ware, Commissioner of pensions, inspired no doubt by the President, figured out that such a law was not needed, that old age is itself a disability within the meaning of the Dependent Pension law of 1890. The precedent cited was that of 1887, when all the surviving veterans of the Mexican War were put on the pension roll, exactly thirty-nine years after the close of that war. As in April, 1904, thirty-nine years had elapsed since the close of the Civil War, it was ruled that surviving veterans who had reached the age of sixty-two should receive a pension of \$6 per month, to be increased gradually until, at the age of seventy, it would be \$12 per month. This order went into effect on April 13, 1904, and was not

the government than is the fixing of the price of food and clothing. This position is untenable. A railroad is a common carrier with the right to condemn private property for its use. Why should it not be a subject of public regulation?

The President reiterated his position in a strong speech in Philadelphia on January 30, 1905. Public sentiment the country through overwhelmingly sustained him. The House, always more amenable to public sentiment than the Senate, passed, on February 9, what is known as the Townsend-Esch railroad-rate bill, embodying the views of the President, by a vote of 326 to 17. The Senate, however, dominated largely by corporation interests, refused to hear the public demand, and the session closed without action

retroactive. The ruling created much unfavorable comment, which, however, soon subsided. The increase of pension for the first year under this order was less than five million dollars.

Not since the second presidential term of General Grant was corruption among federal officials so rife as in the few years ending with 1904. It was found that the postal department had been managed with criminal carelessness, and that many trusted officials in that department had been enriching themselves at public expense. President Roosevelt declared that all dishonest office holders must be prosecuted with merciless vigor. A report of Mr. Bristow, fourth assistant postmaster general, showed the existence of a wide conspiracy to defraud the government. The machinery of investigation was put into operation; many arrests were made and forty-four indictments were found. A number of the accused officials were convicted and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Meantime the good work was going on in still higher circles. United States Senator Burton, of Kansas, was convicted by a United States district court at St. Louis for accepting pay from a questionable company for his influence in the post office department to prevent the issue of a fraud order against the company. He was sentenced to serve six months in prison and to pay a fine of \$2,500. This is the first instance of its kind in the history of the United States. Senator Deiterich, of Nebraska, was tried on a charge of bribery in

on the railroad bill. No event in recent years has brought forth a more wide-spread condemnation of the Senate, as misrepresenting the people, than this failure to act on the Townsend-Esch railroad-rate bill. It is now believed that the President will call an extra session of Congress to meet in October to deal with the matter. President Roosevelt is known for his unlimited courage, and the people are with him regardless of party. The outcome of the contest will be awaited with great interest.

The Arbitration Treaties, submitted by the President to the Senate in February, also attracted wide attention and again brought on a sharp contention between him and that body. These treaties were eight in number, arranged with Great Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Sweden and Norway, Switzerland, Portugal and Mexico. The connection with a post office appointment, but was not convicted. Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, and Representatives Hermann and Williamson, of the same state, were indicted at Portland in December, 1904, on a charge of land frauds, and again in February, 1905, on a charge of bribery. Former Representative M. C. Driggs, of Brooklyn, New York, was convicted of bribery and sentenced to pay a fine of \$10,000 and to serve a short term in prison. Federal District Judge Charles Swayne, of Florida, was, in December, 1904, impeached by the House of Representatives on various charges, as being a non-resident of the district in which his court was held, of arbitrary and illegal action, of falsely certifying his own bills of expenses, and the like. His trial before the Senate resulted, February 27, 1905, in his acquittal. In the midst of this unsavory list it is refreshing to note that Mr. Shafrroth, a Democratic representative, from Colorado, resigned his seat in the House when he became convinced that his election had been tainted with fraud.

The one important industrial event of the summer is the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland, Oregon. This exposition, covering 406 acres, more than half of which is a beautiful lake, makes no pretense of vying with those of Chicago and St. Louis in magnitude; but in point of richness and beauty of display it will rank among the first that have yet been held.

eight treaties were identical in language and were to remain in force for five years. They provided that "differences which may arise of a legal nature, or relating to the interpretation of treaties" between the contracting parties, which could not be settled by diplomacy, be referred to The Hague tribunal, provided they do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the contracting parties and do not concern third parties. It was provided also that in each case, before appealing to The Hague tribunal the contracting parties should conclude an *agreement* defining the matter in dispute, and so forth. This clearly meant that the preliminary agreement be made between the President of the United States and the foreign power with which he might be negotiating. But the Senate, in debating the subject, contended that the word *agreement* should be changed to *treaty*. The change was a vital one. An agreement as to what matters should be subjected to arbitration might be entered into by the President and foreign powers; a treaty would in each case require the consent of the Senate before any matter could be subjected to arbitration. The Senate, while standing out for its prerogative, practically denied its own authority, namely, the authority to delegate to the President the power to decide what should be subjected to arbitration. This is contrary to historic precedent. Again and again have discretionary powers been conferred on the President—to establish or remove an embargo, to suspend or reimpose tonnage duties, to agree with foreign powers concerning sites for coaling and naval stations, or concerning plans for sanitation, to admit certain articles free of duty, or to reimpose the duty, and many other matters of equal importance.

With all this array of historic precedent the Senate in-

sisted that it had no power to delegate such discretionary power to the President. While the subject was pending Mr. Roosevelt wrote Senator Cullom a letter declaring that if the word agreement were changed to treaty he would consider the Arbitration Treaties so emasculated and changed from their original purpose as to render them valueless, nor would he attempt to secure the ratification of the amended treaties by foreign governments. This letter seemed to quicken the Senate to action. It adopted the treaties as amended, and the President, true to his threat, refused to consider them further. Thus was taken a real step backward; again were the President and Senate at odds and again did the opinion of the nation almost unanimously sustain the President.

A third subject of contention between the President and the Senate marked the early months of 1905—our relations with the Dominican Republic, or Santo Domingo. For many years, and especially for the last two years, this diminutive republic, with its swarthy, illiterate population, had shown itself scarcely capable of self-government. One distressing revolution had followed close upon another, and in addition to its domestic troubles there had been a constant pressure from foreign creditors, chiefly German, French and English; but these were defied by the warring factions—under the shadow of the Monroe Doctrine.

On January 22, 1904, the United States recognized the government of General Morales as the *de facto* government, and it was hoped that quiet would prevail and that the twenty million dollars' worth of property held by Americans in that country would no longer be in jeopardy, as heretofore. But the Morales government was very unstable, the revenues were dissipated in keeping down rebellion, foreign

creditors were clamoring for their pay, and at length Morales besought the United States to become the collector and disburser of the customs duties of the republic.

Accordingly, on January 21, 1905, an agreement or protocol was signed by the Dominican authorities and by Mr. Dawson, our minister to Santo Domingo, and Commander Dillingham of our navy, by which it was arranged that American agents take charge, on February 1st, of the custom houses and collect the revenues, turning over forty-five per cent. of the receipts to the Dominican government and retaining the remainder, after deducting expenses, for the various creditors.

This action was severely criticised in the United States Senate as an attempt to make a foreign treaty without the consent of that body. The administration thereupon declared that there had been no intention to ignore the Senate and that the agreement would be duly laid before it, though it is true that the setting of so early a date, February 1st, for the agreement to go into effect would indicate that an almost immediate action of the Senate was expected, or that the intention was to put the agreement into operation without its consent. The President, however, laid the matter before the Senate with a message in which he practically advocated an extension of the Monroe Doctrine, to the effect that if there were wrongs to be redressed between republics under the protection of that doctrine and European countries which would involve the occupation of American territory by the latter, it should be the business of the United States itself to redress such wrongs. The Senate had failed to act when the short session drew to a close on the 4th of March. In the extra session of the Senate following the inauguration the President again laid the treaty before it,

amended in that it omitted from the preamble the references to the application of the Monroe Doctrine, which had seemed most objectionable to that body. But the Senate adjourned without action. President Morales thereupon requested that American agents, recommended by President Roosevelt, but appointed by himself, be put in charge of the southern ports of his country and that the money collected by them be disbursed according to the original agreement, in case our Senate should ratify the treaty at a future session. Should our Senate fail to do this, the receipts are eventually to be turned over to the Dominican government.

Whatever ground the Senate may have had at first for criticising the administration, it has in the end put itself wholly in the wrong by failing to perform a constitutional duty, by refusing to ratify or to reject a treaty properly laid before it by the President, and thereby the whole matter is left in an uncertain and a very unsatisfactory condition. The inauguration of President Roosevelt on the 4th of March was the most magnificent yet held in the country. The day was fine and the people had gathered in vast numbers from all parts. The magnificent endorsement the President had received at the polls no doubt lent coloring to the great enthusiasm with which he was received. No President ever started out upon a term in the great office under more happy auspices, or with a deeper sense of his responsibility, or a fuller confidence of the people.

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Following is a list of such books on American history as may be most useful to the general reader, and most probably within his reach. The special student is directed to the fuller bibliography as found in the various volumes of Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, in the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VII, or in Channing and Hart's *Guide to American History*. The foot-note references in this work also will cite the reader to many works not mentioned in this department. For a critical and usually fair estimate of books on American history the reader is directed to Larned's *Literature of American History*.

GENERAL HISTORIES

On the Entire Field:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VII; Woodrow Wilson, *History of the American People*, 5 vols.; Bryant and Gay, *Popular History of the United States*, 5 vols.; John Clark Ridpath, *Popular History of the United States*; E. Benjamin Andrews, *History of the United States*, 2 vols.; Higginson, *Larger History of the United States*; Alexander Johnston, *The United States: Its History and Constitution*; Goldwin Smith, *The United States*; Francis Newton Thorpe, *A History of the American People*; Albert Bushnell Hart, *History Told by Contemporaries*, 4 vols.; and the better class of school histories, which furnish excellent outlines.*

Histories of Limited Periods:

George Bancroft, *History of the United States*, 1492-1789, 6 vols. (last revision); Richard Hildreth, *History of the United States*, 1492-

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WORKS ON SPECIAL TOPICS, OR PERIODS

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Daniel G. Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, and other volumes; Hubert H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, 5 vols.; Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor*; George E. Ellis, *The Red Man and White Man*; George B. Grinnell, *Story of the Indian*, and other volumes; Richard I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*.

Discovery and Exploration:

John Fiske, *Discovery of America*, 2 vols.; Edward J. Payne, *History of America*, 2 vols.; Henry Harrisse, *Christopher Columbus*; Washington Irving, *Life and Voyages of Columbus*, 4 vols.; Charles K. Adams, *Christopher Columbus*; Henry Vignaud, *Toscanelli and Columbus*; Charles R. Beazley, *John and Sebastian Cabot*; Theodore Irving, *The Conquest of Florida*; Grace King, *De Soto and his Men*; J. G. Shea, *Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*; T. W. Higginson, *American Explorers*; E. J. Payne, *Voyages of Elizabethan Seamen*; and the general works mentioned above, especially the first volumes of Bancroft, Hildreth, Winsor, and Doyle.

The Colonial Period:

Henry Cabot Lodge, *The English Colonies in America*; Reuben Gold Thwaites, *The Colonies*; Richard Hakluyt, *Discourse on Western Planting*; John Fiske, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, 2 vols., *Beginnings of New England*, *The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, 2 vols., and *New France and New England*; Edward Eggleston, *The Beginnings of a Nation*; William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*; John

G. Palfrey, *Compendious History of New England*, 4 vols.; Charles F. Adams, *Three Episodes in Massachusetts History*; E. B. Greene, *The Provincial Governor*; Hugh E. Egerton, *Short History of British Colonial Policy*; William MacDonald, *Select Charters*; Rossiter Johnson, *History of the French War*; William M. Sloan, *The French War and the Revolution*; Frank R. Stockton, *Buccaneers and Pirates*; Mrs. Alice Morse Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days, Curious Punishments of Bygone Days*, and other volumes; George Park Fisher, *The Colonial Era*; Sidney George Fisher, *Men, Women, and Manners in Colonial Times*.

Biographies.—Of *Cotton Mather* by Barrett Wendell; of *General Oglethorpe* by Henry Bruce; of *James Otis* by Francis Bowen; of *William Penn* by Samuel M. Janney; of *William Pitt* by Lord Rosebery; of *Peter Stuyvesant* by Bayard Tuckerman; of *Roger Williams* by Oscar S. Straus; of *John Winthrop* by Joseph H. Twichell; of *Thomas Hooker* by George L. Walker.

The Revolution:

John Fiske, *The American Revolution*, 2 vols.; Sir George Otto Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*, 3 vols.; H. C. Lodge, *Story of the Revolution*, 2 vols.; Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*; C. H. Van Tyne, *Loyalists in the Revolution*; Moses Coit Tyler, *Literary History of the Revolution*, 2 vols.; Francis Wharton, *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence*, 6 vols.; Richard Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*; Charlemagne Tower, *Lafayette in the American Revolution*; Sidney G. Fisher, *True History of the Revolution*. *Autobiography of Franklin*.

Biographies.—Of *Franklin* by Paul L. Ford, by John B. McMaster, by John T. Morse; of *Washington* by Paul L. Ford, by Washington Irving, 4 vols., by Woodrow Wilson, and by H. C. Lodge, 2 vols.; of *Jefferson* by James Schouler, by J. T. Morse, by James Parton, by H. S. Randall, and by George Tucker; of *James Otis* by William Tudor; of *Paul Revere* by Elbridge H. Goss, 2 vols.; of *Joseph Warren* by Richard Frothingham; of *Patrick Henry* by Moses Coit Tyler; of *Benedict Arnold* by Jared Sparks, 3 vols.; of *John André* by Winthrop Sargent; of *Robert Morris* by W. G. Sumner, by E. P. Oberholtzer; of *Samuel Adams* by J. K. Hosmer; of *Ethan Allen* by Henry Hall; of *John Jay* by George Pellew.

The Formation of the Union:

John Fiske, *The Critical Period*; Francis A. Walker, *Making of the*

Nation; Albert B. Hart, *Formation of the Union*; Alexander Hamilton and others, *The Federalist*; George T. Curtis, *Constitutional History of the United States*, 2 vols.; Francis N. Thorpe, *Constitutional History*, 3 vols.; the last volume of George Bancroft's History, the fourth of Hildreth, and the first volumes of McMaster, Schouler, and Von Holst.

The National Period to the Civil War:

The fifth and sixth volumes of Hildreth, the histories of Schouler, McMaster, and Von Holst, the nine volumes of Henry Adams, Vols. III and IV of Woodrow Wilson's history, Vols. III and IV of Bryant and Gay's history, and Vols. VII and VIII of Winsor's history; J. P. Gordy, *A Political History of the United States*, 2 vols.; John W. Burgess, *The Middle Period*; Walter F. McCaleb, *The Aaron Burr Conspiracy*; Thomas H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, 2 vols.; Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*; Theodore Roosevelt, *The Naval War of 1812*; Rossiter Johnson, *The War of 1812*; Nathan Sargent, *Public Men and Events*, 2 vols.; Benjamin F. Perry, *Reminiscences of Public Men*; Henry A. Wise, *Seven Decades of the Union*; Josiah Quincy, *Figures of the Past*; Theodore Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, 4 vols.; Edwin Earl Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*; Wilber H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*; Henry Wilson, *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, 3 vols.; H. R. Helper, *The Impending Crisis*; Harriet Martineau, *Society in America*; Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*; R. M. Ormsby, *History of the Whig Party*; Edward Standwood, *History of the Presidency*; John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs*; Ben Perley Poore, *Reminiscences*; Alexander Johnston, *History of American Politics*; Vols. I and II of Rhodes's history; Vol. I of Greeley's *American Conflict*, and Vol. I of William H. Smith's *A Political History of Slavery*.

Biographies.—Of *Gouverneur Morris* by Theodore Roosevelt; of *Hamilton* by H. C. Lodge, by J. T. Morse, 2 vols.; of *Albert Gallatin* by John A. Stevens, by Henry Adams; of *Burr* by James Parton; of *Madison* by Sidney H. Gay; of *J. Q. Adams* by J. T. Morse; of *Rufus King* by Charles R. King; of *John Marshall* by A. B. Magruder; of *John Randolph* by Henry Adams; of *Tecumseh* by Benjamin Drake; of *John Brown* and *Calhoun* by Von Holst; of *James Buchanan* by George T. Curtis, 2 vols.; of *Webster* by George T. Curtis, 2 vols., by J. B. McMaster; of *Henry Clay* by Carl Schurz, 2 vols.; of *Andrew Jackson* by W. G. Sumner, by W. G. Brown; of *Van Buren*, by Edward M. Shepard, by George Bancroft; of *Lewis Cass* by A. C. McLaughlin; of *Winfield Scott* by Marcus J. Wright.

The Civil War and After:

J. S. Pike, *First Blows of the Civil War*; Horace Greeley, *The American Conflict*, Vol. II; Theodore A. Dodge, *Bird's Eye View of Our Civil War*; Rossiter Johnson, *Short History of the War of Secession*; John C. Ropes, *Story of the Civil War*, 3 vols.; John W. Burgess, *The Civil War and the Constitution*, 2 vols.; Edward McPherson, *Political History of the Rebellion*; Comte de Paris, *Military History of the Civil War*, 4 vols.; John W. Draper, *History of the American Civil War*, 3 vols.; Alexander H. Stephens, *War Between the States*, 2 vols.; Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, 2 vols.; The Century Company, *Battles and Leaders*, 4 vols.; William H. Seward, *Diplomatic History of the War for the Union*; J. C. Schwab, *Confederate States of America*; F. L. Olmsted, *The Cotton Kingdom*; William G. Brown, *The Lower South in American History*; the third and fourth volumes of Rhodes, and the final volumes of Schouler and of Bryant and Gay; David D. Porter, *Naval History of the Civil War*; Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant, of W. T. Sherman, and of P. H. Sheridan; Joseph E. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations*; Raphael Semmes, *Service Afloat*; George B. McClellan, *McClellan's Own Story*; Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, 10 vols.

John W. Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution*; E. Benjamin Andrews, *The United States in Our Own Times*; James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*, 2 vols.; Hugh McCullough, *Men and Measures of Half a Century*; John D. Long, *The American Navy*, 2 vols.; H. A. Herbert, *Why the Solid South*; Henry W. Grady, *The New South*.

Biographies.—Of *Abraham Lincoln* by J. T. Morse, by Carl Schurz, by Ida M. Tarbell; of *Charles Sumner* by Moorfield Storey; of *George H. Thomas* by T. B. Van Horne; of *Samuel J. Tilden* by John Bigelow, 2 vols.; of *Robert Toombs* by P. A. Stovall; of *Thaddeus Stevens* by E. B. Callender; of *A. H. Stephens* by R. M. Johnson and J. S. Black; of *Robert E. Lee* by J. E. Cooke; of *Thomas J. Jackson*, by R. L. Dabney; of *U. S. Grant* by Adam Badeau, by C. C. Chesney; of *Salmon P. Chase* by J. W. Schuckers, by A. B. Hart.

Miscellaneous:

J. F. Jameson, *Dictionary of U. S. History*; Alexander Johnston's articles on American history in *Lalor's Cyclopedie*, 3 vols.; portions of Larned's *History for Ready Reference*, 6 vols.; portions of Lecky's *History of England*, McCarthy's *History of Our Own Times*, and of

other English histories; James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, 2 vols. (also an abridged one-volume edition); F. W. Taussig, *Tariff History of the United States*; A. S. Bolles, *Financial History of the United States*; John W. Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy*; State histories, especially of the American Commonwealth Series; local histories as issued by the various historical societies.

SUGGESTIONS TO THE READER

Among the general histories Bancroft's held first place for many years, but it is now largely superseded by others. His account of the Revolution and of the formation of the government, however, still rank among the best. Hildreth is painstaking and accurate, but his style is not attractive, and his partisan bias is too much in evidence.

Of the complete histories of the country, from the Discovery to the present time, we have but two extensive ones of importance—those of Bryant and Gay, and of Woodrow Wilson, each five volumes. The former, written by Gay and not Bryant, is clear and interesting in style; but the perspective is bad. It gives altogether too much space to the colonial period as compared with the national. Wilson's history is written in excellent style. Its chief defect lies in the assumption that the reader knows the facts, or does not wish to know them. It is a series of consecutive discourses on public questions, rather than a history, and may be very useful to a reader who is already fairly familiar with the facts. An important one-volume history of the United States is the *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VII. This book is the work of many writers instead of one; and, though most of them are specialists, a continuous narrative, showing the gradual development of the nation, is wanting. The proportion is also defective; for example, fifty-seven pages are devoted to the framing of the Constitution, while the sixty years following its adoption are crowded into but ninety pages.

The history of our national period before the Civil War has been written by three historians—Von Holst, McMaster, and Schouler. Von Holst's work (written in German, translated by J. J. Lalor) is a learned discussion of political events and parties. The originality of the author is striking, but the style is often heavy. The writer is not free from political bias, nor is he in full sympathy with American institutions. McMaster's work is written in a vivacious, attractive style. As a vivid presentation of the social and industrial life of the people, and as a storehouse of facts, gathered from original sources, the work of McMaster has no equal. Its great defect lies in the fact that it is disconnected, and that the writer does not fully discuss public questions; does not sufficiently show the influence upon our national development of great movements and great characters. In this respect McMaster occupies a ground quite opposite that occupied by Von Volst and Woodrow Wilson. A medium ground is taken by Schouler, whose work bristles with facts, and who, at the same time, gives admirable characterization of great men, and intelligently discusses important movements. But Schouler's style is often wanting in dignity and clearness. Two admirable accounts of the development of the United States are those of Goldwin Smith and Edward Channing. These are each given in a single small volume, and each may be characterized as a bird's eye view, rather than a history.

A reader may acquire a good knowledge of American history by reading the histories of limited periods, only a few of which can here be mentioned. The best account of the discovery of America for the general reader will be found in the two volumes of John Fiske; while the best short biography of Columbus is that of C. K. Adams, which

is based largely on the more learned work of Harrisse. Payne's *History of America* is in part a scholarly study of the aborigines. Grace King's *De Soto and His Men* is brightly written and fairly accurate.

The best short history of the colonial period as a whole is that of R. G. Thwaites. Lodge's *English Colonies* is much fuller and gives an excellent account of the life of the people; but the most attractive writer on the colonial period, except Parkman, is John Fiske, who has given us six volumes on this period, covering almost the entire subject. The history of A. J. Doyle, an Englishman, is full and broad in spirit. For a series of pictures of colonial life, habits, manners, dress, and furniture the delightful volumes of Mrs. Earle have no equal.

The history of the French-English struggle for North America has been admirably presented by Francis Parkman, who practically exhausts the subject. For accuracy and for beauty of style Parkman has no superior as a historian. The history of the Revolution is best presented by Fiske in two volumes and by Trevelyan in three volumes, with others to follow. The latter, an Englishman, writes from the Whig view point, and deals with the Americans in the utmost fairness. For the short period of disorder, between the close of the Revolution and the framing of the Constitution, *The Critical Period* by Fiske is by far the best we have. On the formation of the national government Hart's *Formation of the Union* is the best short account; while the fuller accounts by Bancroft, by Curtis in his *History of the Constitution*, and by Thorpe in his *Constitutional History*, are of great value.

On the period following the adoption of the Constitution the reader will find, in addition to the works of McMaster,

Schouler, and Von Holst, already mentioned, other works of great importance. Henry Adams's *History*, covering the first sixteen years of the century in nine volumes, is accurate, exhaustive, and most delightfully written. It is to be regretted that this writer has chosen to discontinue his great work at this stage. The slavery agitation before the Civil War is best treated in the first volumes of Greeley's *American Conflict*, of Wilson's *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, and of A. H. Stephens's *War between the States*; while most interesting sidelights will be found in Sargent's *Public Men and Events*, Quincy's *Figures of the Past*, Forney's *Anecdotes of Public Men*, and Wise's *Seven Decades*.

For the account of the great events immediately preceding the war the history of James Ford Rhodes stands above all others. As a historian Rhodes must be classed with Fiske, Parkman and Henry Adams; his only fault is a slight tendency to prolixity.

The history of the Civil War has been written by various historians. The best short histories are J. C. Ropes's *Story of the Civil War* and T. A. Dodge's *Bird's-Eye View of Our Civil War*. Fuller accounts are given in the histories of the war by Comte de Paris, by John W. Draper, by John W. Burgess, by Greeley in the second volume of *The American Conflict*, by Rhodes in his third, fourth and fifth volumes, and by Schouler in his sixth volume. The best military history is found in *Battles and Leaders*, four large volumes written by leading participants of both sides. Two southern views are Jefferson Davis's *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, and A. H. Stephens's *War between the States*. In addition to these the following are recommended: William Garrott Brown's *The Lower South in American History*; W. H. Seward's *Diplomatic History*

of the Civil War; T. S. Goodwin's *Natural History of Secession*; W. A. Dunning's *Essays on the Civil War and Reconstruction*; J. C. Schwab's *Confederate States*; the various biographies of this department as given under Bibliography; S. S. Cox's *Three Decades*; Ben: Perley Poore's *Reminiscences*; Hugh McCullough's *Men and Measures of Half a Century*, and the personal memoirs of U. S. Grant, of W. T. Sherman, and of P. H. Sheridan.

No complete history of Reconstruction and of the period following has been written, the best perhaps being Burgess's *Reconstruction and the Constitution*, the recent volume of E. Benjamin Andrews, and the fifth volume of Bryant and Gay. A fuller history of the times may be gathered from McPherson's *Handbook*, published every second year from 1868 to 1894, except in 1870, from Appleton's *Annual Cyclopaedia*, and from the many able articles on public questions in *The Atlantic Monthly*, *The Forum*, *The North American Review*, *the New Princeton Review* (merged into *The Political Science Quarterly*), and *The Nation*. The history of this period is greatly illuminated by the personal writings of various public men, especially by the *Recollections* of John Sherman, by the two recent volumes of Senator Hoar, and *Twenty Years of Congress* by James G. Blaine. The work of Blaine is not very critical and is marred by too adulatory notices of contemporaries; but the style is excellent. For current history the reader is directed, in addition to the daily papers, to the weekly review of events in *The Outlook* and in *The Nation*, to the monthly review in *The World's Work* and in *The Review of Reviews*, and to *The Political Science Quarterly*.

The special student will delve more deeply than the general reader. He must go to the original sources, such as

the Colonial Archives, British State Papers pertaining to the colonies, the Annals of Congress, Elliot's Debates, Supreme Court decisions, messages and papers of the Presidents and the various Works of the leading statesmen. Every reader, however, should aim to read at least a few of the speeches of the leading statesmen of each period of our development, a good collection of which is Alexander Johnston's *Representative American Orations*, in four volumes.

AMERICAN CHRONOLOGY

DISCOVERY AND COLONIZATION

- 1000. Leif Ericson discovers Vinland (New England).
- 1492. Oct. 12. Columbus discovers the New World.
- 1497. The Cabots discover the continent of North America.
- 1498. Columbus on third voyage discovers South America.
- 1506. Columbus dies at Valladolid.
- 1507. New World named after Americus Vespuceius.
- 1513. Balboa discovers the Pacific Ocean and Ponce de León discovers Florida.
- 1519-1521. Cortez conquers Mexico. Magellan sails round the world.
- 1524. Verrazano and Gomez explore New England coast.
- 1528. Cabeza de Vaca explores Southern United States.
- 1533. Pizarro conquers Peru.
- 1534. Cartier sails to the Gulf of St. Lawrence.
- 1541. De Soto discovers the Mississippi River.
- 1565. Founding of St. Augustine.
- 1576. Frobisher discovers northwest passage, Frobisher Strait.
- 1579. Drake explores coast of California.
- 1584. Raleigh sends first expedition to America.
- 1588. Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
- 1604. Acadia settled by the French.
- 1607. May 13. Founding of Jamestown, Virginia.
- 1608. Founding of Quebec by Champlain.
- 1609. Hudson discovers the Hudson River.
- 1619. First assembly meets at Jamestown. Slaves first sold in Virginia.
- 1620. Coming of the Pilgrims in the *Mayflower*.
- 1623. Settlements at New Amsterdam. First settlements in New Hampshire.
- 1630. The great emigration to Massachusetts. The founding of Boston.
- 1634. Maryland first settled by Calvert.
- 1635. Connecticut settled by emigrants from Massachusetts.
- 1636. Founding of Providence by Roger Williams. Harvard College founded.
- 1637. War with Pequot Indians. First negro slaves in New England.
- 1638. Swedes first settle in Delaware.

1639. First constitution in America adopted by Connecticut.
1643. May 30. New England Confederation formed.
1649. Toleration Act in Maryland.
1655. Stuyvesant conquers the Swedes in Delaware.
1656. Quakers expelled from Massachusetts.
1662. Connecticut charter granted.
1663. Charter granted to Rhode Island.
Charter for the Carolinas granted.
1664. Sept. 8. The English conquer New Amsterdam. New Jersey given by King Charles II to his brother, the Duke of York.
1667. Fundamental Constitutions drawn up for the Carolinas.
1673. Marquette explores the Mississippi.
1676. Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia. King Philip's War in New England.
1681. Penn receives charter for Pennsylvania.
1682. Penn founds Philadelphia and makes treaty with the Indians.
La Salle explores Louisiana and takes possession for France.
1686. Edmund Andros made governor of all New England.
1689. Rebellion against Andros; his fall and arrest.
1692. Salem witchcraft delusion.
1700. Iberville plants colony in Louisiana.
1713. Treaty of Utrecht, ending Queen Anne's War, which began in 1702.
1733. Georgia settled by Oglethorpe.
1748. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, ending King George's War, which began in 1744.
1754. Colonial Congress at Albany; Franklin's plan of union.
1755. Braddock's defeat.
1756. French and Indian War formally begun.
1759. Wolfe captures Quebec.
1763. Treaty of Paris; end of the war. Conspiracy of Pontiac.

PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION

1765. Stamp Act. Colonial Congress in New York.
1770. "Boston Massacre."
1773. Destruction of tea in Boston Harbor.
1774. Sept. 5. Continental Congress meets in Philadelphia. Boston Port Bill.
1775. April 19. Fight at Lexington and Concord.
May 10. Capture of Ticonderoga. Meeting of Second Continental Congress at Philadelphia.

1775. June 17. Battle of Bunker Hill.
 December. Daniel Boone settles in Kentucky.

1776. July 4. Declaration of Independence.
 Aug. 27. Battle of Long Island.
 Dec. 26. Washington captures Hessians at Trenton.

1777. June 14. Flag of stars and stripes adopted by Congress.
 Sept. 11. Battle of Brandywine.
 Oct. 17. Surrender of Burgoyne.
 Washington encamps at Valley Forge and Howe occupies Philadelphia.

1778. French-American alliance.
 June 28. Battle of Monmouth.
 Dec. 29. British take Savannah.

1779. Sept. 23. Naval victory of John Paul Jones.

1780. May 12. Charleston taken by British.
 Aug. 16. Battle of Camden.
 Oct. 7. Battle of King's Mountain.

1781. Adoption of the Articles of Confederation.
 Oct. 19. Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

1782. Nov. 30. Preliminary treaty of peace.

1783. Sept. 3. Final treaty of peace signed.
 Nov. 25. British army evacuates New York.
 Dec. 4. Washington's farewell to his officers.

1786. Shays's rebellion in Massachusetts.

FROM THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION TO THE CIVIL WAR

1787. Ordinance of 1787 adopted.
 May 14. Constitutional Convention meets at Philadelphia.
 Sept. 17. Constitution finished and signed by the delegates.

1788. Rufus Putnam plants first settlement in Ohio.
 June 21. New Hampshire becomes the ninth state to ratify the Constitution, securing its adoption.

1789. March 4. New government goes into operation.
 April 30. Washington inaugurated first President.

1790. First census. Population 3,929,214.

1791. Vermont admitted to the Union. St. Clair defeated by the Indians.

1792. Kentucky admitted to the Union.

1793. Jefferson founds Republican (Democratic) party.

1794. Wayne defeats the Indians in Battle of Fallen Timbers.

1795. Jay's treaty ratified.

all, from Bowling Green. Johnston's army was about equal to that of Grant, some forty thousand strong; and nothing was more certain than that the two would soon come together in a terrific contest for the possession of the region of the upper Tennessee. Through this region ran the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, from Memphis by way of Corinth to Chattanooga, where it connected with the lines to the seaboard. This railroad was of immense importance to the South, and to save it from falling into Union hands a great battle must be fought and won by the Confederates. Grant fully believed that the enemy would await an attack in his intrenchments at Corinth, and in this belief he left his army entirely exposed. Not an earthwork was thrown up, and the blunder, if such it may be called, no doubt cost a thousand human lives. Johnston had determined to move his army stealthily from Corinth and to fall upon his enemy in a sudden, impetuous dash at Pittsburg Landing.

It was Saturday night and the Union army lay shivering on the damp ground. Only the dull tread of the sentinel could be heard, and the plashing water of the streams overflowing with recent rain. Only a mile away lay the army of Johnston, waiting to spring on the foe in the morning. At break of day magnificent battle lines emerged from the woods in front of the Union camps, and in a few minutes the roar of artillery announced the opening of the greatest battle ever before fought on the western continent. Halleck, Grant, and the division commanders stoutly insist that they were not surprised. Be that as it may, the fact remains that no intrenchments had been made, and that Grant, without the slightest anticipation of an engagement, had spent the night at Savannah, and learned of the opening of the battle only by hearing the sounds of the heavy guns. Buell had

1819. Purchase of Florida from Spain.
First steamship, the *Savannah*, crosses the Atlantic.

1820. The Missouri Compromise.

1823. Dec. 2. Monroe Doctrine promulgated.

1825. Inauguration of John Quincy Adams. Opening of the Erie Canal.
June 17. Lafayette lays corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument.

1826. July 4. Death of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.
Panama Congress.

1828. Building of the first passenger railway begun at Baltimore.

1829. Andrew Jackson becomes President.

1830. Fifth census. Population 12,866,020.

1832. Nov. 19. Nullification by South Carolina. Jackson vetoes bank charter. Black Hawk War.

1833. Jackson removes bank deposits. Compromise tariff adopted.

1836. April 21. Battle of San Jacinto.
Wilkes's Antarctic expedition.
Admission of Arkansas.

1837. Inauguration of Van Buren.
Patent of the telegraph by Morse.
Great panic. Admission of Michigan.
Burning of the *Caroline*.

1841. March 4. William Henry Harrison inaugurated President; dies April 4, and John Tyler becomes President.
Howe invents the sewing machine.

1844. First telegraph line in America, between Baltimore and Washington.

1845. James K. Polk becomes President. Florida and Texas admitted into the Union. Death of Andrew Jackson.

1846. Beginning of the Mexican War. Fight at Palo Alto.
Admission of Iowa. Walker tariff enacted. Wilmot Proviso introduced in Congress.

1847. Feb. 23. Battle of Buena Vista.
March 29. Capture of Vera Cruz by General Scott.
Conquest of California.
September. Fall of the City of Mexico.

1848. February. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
Discovery of gold in California.
Wisconsin enters the Union.

1849. Zachary Taylor inaugurated President.

1850. Admission of California. Death of Calhoun.
July 9. Death of President Taylor. Millard Fillmore President.
Clay Compromise enacted.

1850. Census shows population of 23,191,876.
 1852. Death of Clay and Webster.
 1853. Inauguration of Franklin Pierce.
 1854. May. Kansas-Nebraska bill enacted.
 Commercial treaty with Japan.
 1857. Inauguration of Buchanan.
 March 6. Dred Scott decision.
 1858. Admission of Minnesota.
 First Atlantic cable laid.
 Lincoln-Douglas debates.
 Sept. 18. Mountain Meadow Massacre, Utah.
 1859. Admission of Oregon.
 John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry.
 1860. Population 31,443,321.

THE CIVIL WAR AND OUR OWN TIMES

Dec. 20. Secession of South Carolina.
 1861. Secession of Mississippi on Jan. 9; of Florida, Jan. 10; Alabama,
 Jan. 11; Georgia, Jan. 19; Louisiana, Jan. 26; Texas, Feb. 1;
 Virginia, April 17; Arkansas, May 6; North Carolina, May 20;
 Tennessee, June 8.
 Feb. 4. Confederate government organized.
 March 4. Lincoln inaugurated President of the United States.
 April 14. Fall of Fort Sumter.
 July 21. Battle of Bull Run.
 Nov. 8. Capture of Mason and Slidell.
 Admission of Kansas.
 1862. Feb. 16. Surrender of Fort Donelson.
 March 9. Duel between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*.
 April 6-7. Battle of Shiloh.
 April 16. Slavery abolished in District of Columbia.
 April 25. Farragut captures New Orleans.
 July 1. Battle of Malvern Hill; last of the seven days' battle
 before Richmond.
 Aug. 30. Second Battle of Bull Run.
 Sept. 17. Battle of Antietam.
 Dec. 13. Battle of Fredericksburg.
 1863. Jan. 1. Lincoln issues Emancipation Proclamation.
 Jan. 2. Battle of Murfreesboro.
 Admission of West Virginia.
 May 2. Battle of Chancellorsville.
 July 1-3. Battle of Gettysburg.

1863. July 4. Surrender of Vicksburg.
Sept. 19-20. Battle of Chickamauga.
Nov. 19. Lincoln's address at Gettysburg.
Nov. 24-25. Battle of Chattanooga.

1864. May 6. Battle of the Wilderness.
May 11. Battle of Spottsylvania.
June 19. The *Kearsarge* sinks the *Alabama*.
Aug. 5. Battle of Mobile Bay.
Sept. 2. Sherman captures Atlanta.
Oct. 19. Battle of Cedar Creek.
Nov. 15. Sherman begins his march to the sea.
Dec. 15-16. Battle of Nashville.
Admission of Nevada.

1865. April 1. Battle of Five Forks.
April 3. Evacuation of Richmond.
April 9. Surrender of Lee at Appomattox.
April 14. Assassination of Lincoln; Andrew Johnson President.
April 26. Surrender of Johnston's army.
Dec. 18. Thirteenth Amendment ratified.

1866. July 27. Second Atlantic cable completed.

1867. May 2. Reconstruction bill passed over veto.
Purchase of Alaska.
Admission of Nebraska.

1868. Feb. 24. President Johnson impeached by the House.
Trial in the Senate fails.
July 21. Fourteenth Amendment adopted.

1869. Inauguration of U. S. Grant.
May 10. Pacific Railroad completed.

1870. Population 38,558,371.
March 30. Fifteenth Amendment ratified.

1871. October. Great fire in Chicago.

1873. February. Congress demonetizes silver.
Financial panic.

1876. Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia.
Admission of Colorado.
Invention of the telephone.
Custer's army destroyed by the Indians.

1877. Inauguration of R. B. Hayes.
Great railroad strike.

1878. Electric light perfected.
February. Bland-Allison silver bill passed.

1879. Jan. 1. Resumption of specie payments.

1880. Population 50,155,783.

1881. James A. Garfield inaugurated President.
July 2. Assassination of Garfield. Dies September 19. Chester A. Arthur becomes President.

1883. Letter postage reduced to two cents.

1885. Grover Cleveland becomes President.

1886. Oct. 6. Statue of Liberty unveiled, New York.
Presidential Succession Law enacted.

1889. Benjamin Harrison becomes President.
April 22. Oklahoma opened to settlers.
North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington admitted into the Union.

1890. Population 62,622,250.
Idaho and Wyoming admitted.
McKinley tariff enacted.
Sherman silver law passed.

1891. Chileans assault American sailors at Valparaiso.

1893. World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago.

1894. Wilson tariff law enacted.

1895. Dec. 17. Cleveland issues his Venezuelan message.

1897. William McKinley becomes President.
July 24. Dingley tariff becomes law.

1898. Feb. 15. Destruction of the *Maine* at Havana.
April 25. Congress declares war against Spain (existing from April 21).
May 1. Battle of Manila.
July 1-3. Battle of San Juan.
July 3. Battle of Santiago.
July 7. Annexation of Hawaii.
Aug. 12. Peace protocol signed.
Dec. 10. Treaty with Spain signed at Paris.

1899. May 18. Peace Conference meets at The Hague.
Samoan treaty made by the United States, Great Britain, and Germany.

1900. Allied Powers enter China to quell Boxer disturbances.
Civil Government established in Alaska.
Sept. 9. Great disaster at Galveston, Texas.

1901. Jan. 1. The Hague Arbitration Court organized.
May 3. Civil Government established in the Philippines.
Sept. 6. President McKinley shot by an assassin. Dies on Sept. 14. Theodore Roosevelt becomes President.
Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo.

1902. Cuban Republic established.
May 12. Great Anthracite strike in Pennsylvania begins.

1903. Feb. 14. Cabinet Department of Commerce and Labor created.
March 17. Panama Canal Treaty with Colombia ratified by the
United States Senate. Rejected Aug. 17 by Colombian Senate.
July 4. Pacific Cable completed.
Oct. 17. Alaskan Boundary Tribunal in London decides in favor
of the United States.
Nov. 6. The United States recognizes the new Republic of
Panama.
Nov. 18. Canal Treaty with Panama signed by Secretary Hay.
Ratified by Panama Dec. 2.

1904. Feb. 23. Panama Treaty ratified by United States Senate.
April 30. Opening of Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St.
Louis; closed Nov. 30.

1905. March 4. Inauguration of President Roosevelt.

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